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ABSTRACT

Role consensus is the extent to which agreement exists among the individuals in a group, between groups, or between cities. In three markedly different communities, teachers, principals, superintendents, school boards, and citizens were surveyed for their views on 45 norm items pertaining to the role of the elementary school teacher. Within each of these populations there was a wide range of agreement on the items. Little variation existed in the views of the populations from one community to another, with the exception of superintendents. Likewise, within the same community, the views of the populations were relatively similar, with teachers having slightly more agreement about their own role than did citizens. When teachers were asked to estimate the differences between their views and those of other populations, they tended to overestimate differences between their views and those of citizens and to underestimate differences between their views and those of their principals. (RA)

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Role Consensus: The Case of the Elementary School Teacher

John M. Foskett

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Foreword

This monograph compares the findings of investigations conducted in three communities differing in size and demography. These comparisons were made by the author to determine the extent to which normative structures relating to the position of the elementary school teacher and principal are community specific or culturally defined.

Prof. John M. Foskett has authored two other CASEA-sponsored monographs concerned with the relationships between the characteristics of normative structures and recurring problems in school administration. The first *The Normative World of the Elementary School Teacher*, was released in May, 1967; and the other, *The Normative World of the Elementary School Principal*, was published in December of that year.

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I

Introduction and Research Design

The study to be reported here is concerned primarily with selected characteristics of the normative structure as it pertains to the position of elementary school teacher and with the relation of such characteristics to a number of recurrent problems confronting both teachers and school administrators. By normative structure is meant the views that teachers and other relevant populations have regarding appropriate behavior norms for elementary school teachers, the perceptions that teachers have of the views of relevant other populations, and the perceptions that the other populations have of the views of teachers. By characteristics of the normative structure is meant the nature of the views held by each of the subject populations; the extent of agreement among the members of each of the populations; the extent of agreement as between populations; the extent to which the members of a given population are aware of the actual views of another population; and the extent of variation in both level of agreement and prevailing views from one community to another for all populations and, for teachers, variations from one school to another within school districts. In short, this study is concerned with consensus in its several dimensions.

The Conceptual Framework

The conceptual model of normative structures from which the research design for this study was derived can be sketched briefly as follows. The starting point for the conceptual model to be developed here is an initial observation that most, if not all, human social behavior takes place in *recurrent situations.* Examples are: a gentleman taking a lady to the theater; a church Communion service; a visit to a sick friend; a dinner party with friends; a university lecture; or even a "stag" party. A review of all one's specific activities in a given day will identify hundreds of discrete *recurrent situations* within which he engaged in behavior toward others.

In any particular situation, alternative ways of acting are theoretically feasible. However, over time, a particular way of acting comes to be preferred by a given population; thus it becomes the "best" or "proper" way of acting, i.e., a rule or norm for designated actors in that situation. Always "rules" (in the Durkheimian sense) are attached to given actors ("host," "guest") in a given situation ("dinner party") for a given population ("upper class").

The extent to which social behavior is thus situation linked is evidenced by the extent to which individuals shift their behavior as they move from one situation to another. Within the space of a few hours an individual may attend a tea party, a football game, and a staff meeting. He will act differently, almost unconsciously so, in each of these situations. We are often conscious of the fact of situational behavior as is evidenced by the phrases "You put me in a very difficult situation," "The situation was such that I could not refuse," or "What would you do in my situation?"

The specific norms or rules attached to given positions in given situations are not discrete but form complexes. Typically, there are multiple norms for a given actor in a given situation. In such a simple recurrent situation as that of a host introducing two strangers to each other there are norms as to which of the two will be "presented" to the other, the titles or forms of address to be used, and the nature and extent of the identification of each.

The several norms for a given actor in a given recurrent situation constitute an empirically observable set in that they appear together as a cluster or complex of rules of behavior for that situation. These identifiable "sets" or "clusters" or norms are here called "roles." Thus we can speak of the role of "introducer." If the focus is on a more inclusive recurrent situation such as that of a dinner party, then we can specify a more inclusive role such as that of hostess. It is only necessary that the situation specified have a "boundary" and be distinguishable from other situations. One can focus on the cluster of norms relevant to a teacher grading examinations, or the more inclusive cluster relevant to a teacher in the classroom, or to all the norms for teachers whether she is in the classroom, on the playground, in the lunchroom, at a staff meeting, or talking to parents. The level of inclusiveness is arbitrary.

Because the several norms comprising a role involve acting toward other actors (with their roles), all are linked to one or more other roles and thus form a larger complex or cluster. Such clusters of roles are here called institutions. The roles of hostess, host, and guest make up a larger complex of norms that can be called a "dinner party." The roles of elementary teacher and elementary pupil make up the institution of the "elementary school classroom."

So far nothing has been said about *persons*, reference being made to the normative structure alone. Actual persons typically occupy a number of positions in the social system. Thus, Mrs. Smith may be a teacher, a wife, a mother, a neighbor, and a member of a garden club. For each position there will be one or more roles. In any given society there are typical combinations of roles that make up positions at the individual person level and typical combinations of positions that an individual may occupy simultaneously. There are legal prohibitions against certain combinations of positions where conflict of interest is involved; other combinations that are mutually exclusive by virtue of time, place and qualification; and other combinations that are dysfunctional for the individual.[1]

The Normative Structure and Social Behavior

It is necessary to emphasize that the conceptual model sketched above does not pretend either to describe or to explain actual social behavior.

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[1] For a fuller development of a structural model built around the concept of role see Frederick L. Bates, "Position, Role and Status: A Reformulation of Concepts," *Social Forces*, 34 (May, 1956), 313-321 and "A Conceptual Analysis of Group Structure," *Social Forces*, 36 (December, 1957), 103-111; Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958) Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 368ff.

It is only a model of the elements of which the normative structure is composed.

A characteristic of all models is that the thing represented is pictured as being perfect—be it an atom, an automobile, the human anatomy, or the structure of norms. In the actual empirical world entities are not so perfect as the models themselves.

The model of the normative world outlined above suggests that there is 100 per cent agreement of consensus among the members of a relevant population as to the rules of behavior for each actor in each recurrent situation. Clearly this is not the case. The model implies that all actors in a given population know what the norms are. Experience reveals that many individuals somehow fail to learn at least some of the norms attached to their role(s). The model assumes that all norms are compatible with each other, both within and between roles. However, numerous instances arise where norms are mutually exclusive and conformity to one makes impossible conformity to another. The model is that of a static structure and does not recognize the fact of change. For these and other reasons, the actual normative structure does not and cannot correspond to the model.

What then is the value of the model? Put simply, it provides a framework for inquiry. It points to the elements of the actual normative world that are to be examined empirically. In a very real sense it tells the investigator what to look at. It says that there is a normative structure of some kind and that the structure has certain characteristics regarding degree of consensus, amount of conflict as between norms, extent to which the norms are known, and changes that are taking place.

That there is a normative structure of some kind is not to be denied. Otherwise there would be complete anarchy. There is a degree of order in human relations only because there are, to some degree, known and shared rules of behavior, because individuals are able to predict with some degree of accuracy the behavior of others in terms of prevailing rules of the game.

But what is the relationship between the actual normative structure, whatever its condition or characteristics, and the overt behavior of actual individuals? It is clear that the relationship is not one-to-one and that the behavior of given individuals does not necessarily conform to the prevailing norms. At the same time it cannot be said that no relationship exists. There is abundant evidence that behavior is conditioned or directed by the prevailing norms. Most people present the gentleman to the lady when making an introduction, most drivers drive on the right-hand side of the road, most men remove their hats when entering a church, most clerks give customers the correct change, most bridge players follow suit, and most theater-goers refrain from loud conversation during a concert. The actual relationship between the normative structure and behavior is itself variable and is subject to empirical investigation. Even non-conformity to norms can be a consequence of certain characteristics of the normative structure.

The Normative Structure and Educational Administration

In the past there has been a tendency to explain the problems facing the schools in terms of the characteristics of individuals. Inadequate performance by teachers has been traced to such things as inadequate training, lack of motivation, and low ability. Complaining parents have been seen as ignorant trouble makers, as having evil motives, or even as mental cases. The difficulties experienced by school superintendents have been linked to personal attributes, training, professional sophistication, and integrity. Always it is something about the individual as such.

Admittedly, there are characteristics of individuals and such characteristics are important. However, we often try to explain too much in these terms. There are other variables, among which are the characteristics of the normative structure as discussed.

Perhaps an actual example will clarify this point. A subject-matter resource person from the central office of a school district went out to one of the schools to work with a particular teacher. Severe conflict developed between the teacher and the resource person. The latter became furious and told the principal she was leaving and would not return until someone "straightened the teacher out." The equally furious teacher advised the principal she refused to have any further relationship with the resource person. The principal was puzzled because he knew both of the parties well and regarded them as thoroughly capable and effective individuals. Understandably he tried to find out who "was to blame." After extensive exploration of the case he discovered that neither one was to "blame." Instead, each had a different set of expectations for the role of teacher and the role of consultant; and each misperceived the normative views of the other. In this case the conflict and resulting fracturing of relationships were not a product of characteristics of the individuals as such but the state of the normative structure—lack of consensus, role ambiguity, and erroneous perceptions.

In brief, then, it is held here that there is a normative structure of some kind; that there is a linkage between this structure and actual social behavior; and that many problems in human social relations are a function, at least in part, of the characteristics of the normative structure itself rather than individuals as such.

More specifically, it is held that many of the problems in the area of school organization and classroom instruction are a consequence of features of the normative structure as it pertains to the educational world. Returning to the point made at the outset, the relating of educational problems to characteristics of the normative structure is here suggested as one possible approach to many of the problems confronting the school.

The Research Problem

Given the conceptual framework outlined above, a number of research problems can be formulated. The particular problem chosen here is that of normative consensus. To what extent are the members of given populations in agreement as to forms of appropriate behavior in given situations and what implications does level of consensus have for role performance? More specifically, in this instance, how much agreement is there regarding the role of elementary school teacher, and what are the consequences for the schools?

There has been a tendency for social scientists to take consensus as a "given" and to assume that the distinguishing feature of culture is a high degree of agreement as to the rules of behavior. This assumption stems from tradition in anthropology and is to be found in many books on general sociology. As a simple example, the late Arnold Rose stated in his introductory text that "The important idea in the concept of culture is that there are common understandings as to how individuals are to behave toward one another."[2]

As suggested above, such a statement may be appropriate when one is talking about a conceptual model, but it is not correct when talking about the actual state of affairs. Even the most casual observation reveals that there is a range of consensus from one role norm to another, from one situation to another, and from one population to another. The point is that consensus is not a given but rather a variable to be determined by empirical inquiry.[3]

There also has been a tendency to treat consensus unilaterally, as extent of agreement among the members of a given population be it a committee, the teachers in a given school, the teachers in a particular school district, or even in a wider geographical area. An alternative procedure, and the one to be followed here, is to treat consensus multilaterally where it includes level of agreement within populations of actors (teachers), within other relevant populations (principals, superintendents, school board members, parents, pupils), and between populations such as teachers and principals. In addition, consensus would also involve the ability of one population, such as teachers, to perceive the views of another population, such as parents of pupils. This concept of consensus is more relevant sociologically than that of unilateral agreement alone.[4]

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[2] Arnold M. Rose, *Sociology: The Study of Human Relations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 33.

[3] For an excellent discussion of this point see Neal Gross, *et al., op. cit.*, Part I.

Given these considerations regarding the concept of consensus, the research problem focuses on the role of elementary school teachers and involves the following questions:

1. To what extent do elementary school teachers agree among themselves regarding their role?
2. To what extent do the members of relevant populations of others (principals, school board members, citizens, etc.) agree among themselves regarding appropriate behavior for teachers?
3. To what extent does each of the subject populations agree with each of the other populations regarding the role of teachers?
4. To what extent does each of the subject populations think each of the other populations has views regarding the role of teacher the same as their own?
5. To what extent is each of the populations able to perceive accurately the views of each of the other populations?

The gathering of the above data constitutes a sort of "mapping" of the normative structure as it pertains to the role of elementary school teachers and is intended to reveal patterns in the structure than can then be related to some of the recurrent difficulties confronting the educational enterprise.

The Subject Communities

The data of this study were gathered in three Pacific Coast communities that will be identified as Community A, Community B, and Community C.[5]

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[4] For helpful elaboration of this distinction see Thomas J. Scheff, "Toward a Sociological Model of Consensus," *American Sociological Review* 32 (February, 1967), 34-46.

[5] Field work and data analysis for Community B were completed before field work in the other two communities was initiated. A preliminary report of the findings for

Community A is relatively small, having a population of approximately 28,000. Its principal industries are agriculture, lumber, recreation, and tourism. It serves as a commercial, medical, and cultural center for the surrounding agricultural area and is isolated from other major population centers. In general, it may be classified as semi-urban. Ethnically, the population is homogeneous, there being virtually no minority group residents. The population is also relatively homogeneous socio-economically and culturally and retains a number of the *gemeinschaft* features of its earlier days.

The unified school district of Community A extends beyond the city boundaries, with six of the fourteen elementary schools in essentially rural settings outside the city limits.

Community B is an urban center with a population of approximately 70,000. It is the political center of the state and provides a wide range of services for a large surrounding rural area. Its economic base, in addition to state and federal offices and institutions, is agriculture, lumber, light industry, and wholesale distribution to many neighboring small communities. Like Community A, it is relatively homogeneous both ethnically and socio-economically. It has a larger proportion of professional and white-collar workers than Community A and is within commuting distance of a large urban center.

Again, the unified school district extends beyond the city limits. Eighteen of the thirty-two elementary schools are in either suburban or adjoining rural areas.

Community C is a large urban center with a population approaching 400,000 and is contiguous with other large urban communities forming an extended metropolitan environment. The area's economic base is typically urban, including automobile assembly; engineering laboratories; food processing; electronics research; an air force base; aircraft manufacturing; a wide range of light industry; and agriculture, particularly truck farming.

Unlike communities A and B, the population of Community C is heterogeneous. Mexican-Americans, identified by a Spanish surname, constitute 15 per cent of the population of the city. Other prominent ethnic categories are Italian, Portuguese, Negro, and Oriental. Almost 30 per

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Community B was published by the present author under the title *The Normative World of the Elementary School Teacher*, Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1967. Indeed, it was the nature of the findings in the initial community that led to the replication of the study in two additional and differing communities, thereby making possible comparisons across communities.

cent of the residents are either foreign born or have at least one parent who is foreign born. Related to the economic and ethnic diversity of the community, there is a wide range of income and educational levels.

The Subject Populations

The subject populations to be considered in this report, for each community, are: (1) all elementary school teachers (grades 1-6); (2) all full-time elementary school principals; (3) all school board members; (4) the superintendent of the unified school district; (5) the central-office staff; (6) and a three-stage area probability sample of adult citizens, using the unified school district as the sampling universe. In each community usable schedules were completed for over 90 per cent of the teachers and for at least 80 per cent of the original sample of citizens.

The number of respondents for each of the above populations is:

	Community A	*Community B*	*Community C*
Teachers	216	337	582
Citizens	344	607	781
Principals	14	22	31
School Board	5	7	5
Superintendent	1	1	1
Central Office	4	—	8

In Community A there are fourteen elementary schools and fourteen full-time principals. All are included in the study. In Community B there are thirty-four elementary schools within the school district. Twelve of these schools, mostly outlying, are small with two to eight teachers and a teaching principal. These twelve schools and the thirty-seven teachers attached to them are excluded from the study, leaving twenty-two schools each with a full-time principal. In Community C all thirty-four elementary schools are included even though three of the principals are each responsible for two schools.

Data-Gathering Procedures

A structured schedule (see below) was administered by trained interviewers in a face-to-face situation with each citizen subject. Standard controls to preserve the sample design were employed and routine verification of interviews was maintained.

All teachers were interviewed in groups of twelve or fewer, school by school, after pupils were dismissed. After briefing, each teacher completed his schedule with an investigator or professional interviewer present to answer questions or to assist in completing particular items.

Each school board member, each principal, and the superintendent were briefed and given a schedule to complete at their convenience. All interview schedules with the exception of those of the principals and the superintendent were completely anonymous. Code numbers identify teachers and principals by schools.

The Schedule

That part of the interview schedule yielding the data for this report is a role-norm inventory for the position of elementary school teacher containing forty-five role-norm statements (see below). Fifteen of the items pertain to teachers acting toward pupils and ten each pertain to teachers acting toward colleagues, toward parents, and toward the wider community.

Items included in the inventory were selected to exclude attributes of individuals, functions or goals, statements so general that specific forms of behavior could not be identified, and technical statements to which lay subjects would be unable to respond. An effort was made to formulate all role-norm statements in terms of specific and explicit rules of behavior.

Five response categories were provided for each role-norm statement: (1) *definitely should*; (2) *preferably should*; (3) *may or may not*; (4) *preferably should not*; and (5) *definitely should not.*

Five copies of the role-norm inventory were given to each teacher. One copy contained the lead phrase, "I think that an elementary school teacher . . . " and the teachers were asked to check the response category best representing their own view for each of the forty-five items. The remaining four copies were used to secure teachers' *perceptions* of the views of each of the other populations. Thus, a second copy of the inventory contained the lead phrase, "I think that most people in .... would say that an elementary school teacher . . . " and the teachers were asked to check for each item the response category that best represented what they thought would be the view of most citizens in the community. A similar appropriate lead phrase appeared on the other copies to obtain the judgment of teachers as to the views of principals, the school board, and the superintendent.

In Community B, the first community studied, a copy of the role-norm inventory carrying the lead phrase, "I think that most elementary school teachers . . . " was administered to the citizens, the principals, the members of the school board and the superintendent to elicit responses regarding their own views as to how teachers should act. In communities

A and C, a second copy of the inventory carrying the lead phrase, "I think that most elementary school teachers would say that an elementary school teacher . . . " was administered to these same populations to secure their *perceptions* of the views of the teachers themselves.

The role-norm inventory for the position of elementary school teacher contained the following items:

Role 1: Acting Toward Pupils

1 . . . assign homework regularly.
2 . . . make and carefully follow detailed lesson plans.
3 . . . deprive a pupil of privileges as one form of punishment.
4 . . . give pupils a great deal of drill practice in the fundamentals.
5 . . . evaluate the work of pupils on the basis of their individual improvement rather than by comparing them with other children.
6 . . . give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students.
7 . . . use extra academic work as one form of punishment.
8 . . . experiment with new teaching techniques.
9 . . . permit each pupil to follow his own educational interests most of the time.
10 . . . smoke in situations where a pupil might see them.
11 . . . devote most of their time to working with individual pupils or small groups.
12 . . . use physical punishment as one disciplinary measure.
13 . . . encourage pupils to discuss various religious beliefs in the classroom.
14 . . . express their own political views in the classroom.
15 . . . encourage pupils to question the opinions held by the teacher.

Role 2: Acting Toward Colleagues

16 . . . devote time outside of regular teaching duties to school affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional pay.
17 . . . take up active membership in some local teachers' professional organization.
18 . . . use last names like "Miss Smith" or "Mr. Jones" when addressing other teachers in front of pupils.
19 . . . include other teachers in their circle of close friends.
20 . . . continue to take college courses as long as they continue to teach.
21 . . . insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time.
22 . . . make or receive routine personal telephone calls while at school.
23 . . . discuss serious personal problems with the principal.
24 . . . join a teacher organization affiliated with a labor union.
25 . . . engage in part-time work during school months.

Role 3: Acting Toward Parents

26 . . . accept the judgment of parents when there is disagreement about the needs of the child.
27 . . . insist that parents contact them at school rather than at home.
28 . . . visit every pupil's home at the beginning of the school year.
29 . . . discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests.
30 . . . tell a parent the tested "I.Q." of his child.
31 . . . attend PTA or Parents Club meetings.
32 . . . encourage parents to visit the classroom at any time.
33 . . . contact parents whenever any problem arises for their children.
34 . . . attempt to find out what, in the home situation, may contribute to the misbehavior of a pupil.
35 . . . discuss freely with parents the weaknesses of other teachers.

Role 4: Acting Toward Community

36 . . . exercise great caution in expressing views outside of the classroom on controversial issues because of their position.
37 . . . live within the school district.
38 . . . be active in at least one community youth group (e.g., Sunday School, Scouting, YMCA, YWCA).
39 . . . attend church regularly.
40 . . . spend an eight-hour day at school.
41 . . . remember that a stricter standard of conduct in the community applies to them because they are teachers.
42 . . . patronize locally owned businesses and services.
43 . . . make political speeches.
44 . . . serve alcoholic beverages in their own homes.
45 . . . patronize a cocktail lounge.

Measures of Agreement

Two of the measures used in the analysis of the responses to the role-norm inventory can be described at this point. The first, referred to as the Agreement Score, is designed to measure the extent of agreement among the members of a given population both as to their own views and their perceptions of the views of another population. Because no assumptions could be made regarding equal intervals among the five response categories it was judged desirable to use some type of ordinary measure. The instrument finally used is a simple measure of cumulative relative frequency distribution of responses over the five response categories for each role-norm statement.[6] Similar to analysis of variance, this instrument measures the extent to which responses are clustered along the continuum from *definitely should* to *definitely should not.* The theoretical range is from —1.0 where 50 per cent of the responses are in each of the two extreme response categories (*dissensus* in that there are two sets of agreement rather than no agreement), through 0.0 where 20 per cent of the responses are in each response category (zero agreement in the sense of no clustering), to +1.0 where all responses are in one of the five response categories (complete agreement). A mean Agreement Score for the entire inventory or any set of role-norm statements is obtained by a simple averaging of Agreement Scores for each of the role-norm statements.

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[6] This instrument was developed by Professor Robert K. Leik and is reported in his "A Measure of Ordinal Consensus," *Pacific Sociological Review* 9 (Fall, 1966), pp. 85-90.

The second measure is a mean Response Score obtained by assigning the value of one to five to each of the response categories in turn, beginning with *definitely should,* and determining the mean value of all responses. The statistic is used to measure the extent of agreement between populations role norm by role norm. The over-all difference between two populations is obtained by calculating the average difference between mean Response Scores over all *items.*

The Several Dimensions of Censensus

The several dimensions of consensus regarding the position of elementary school teacher are reported in the following chapters. Chapter II will be devoted to the amount of agreement *within* each of the subject populations for both their own views and their perceptions of the views of others. Chapter III will be concerned with the extent of agreement *between* given populations from one community to another. Chapter IV will focus on the extent of agreement between populations *within* communities. Chapter V will present an extended analysis of the extent to which teachers can perceive the views of each of the other subject populations as regards the position of teacher and the extent to which each of the populations of others is able to perceive the views held by teachers. Finally, Chapter VI will summarize the numerous findings and will suggest implications for educational administration.

II

Agreement Within Populations

The purpose of this chapter is to report and compare data from the three subject communities regarding the range and extent of agreement for each of the subject populations, both as to their own views and their perceptions of the views of others, for the position of elementary school teacher. Broadly, the data indicate that:

1. There is a wide range of levels of agreement from one role norm to another for all populations in each of the three communities. Characteristically, this range is from near zero to near 100 per cent agreement for each population's own views and for their perceptions of the view of other populations.

2. For each of the populations in each of the communities the agreement scores for each of the forty-five role norms tend to be monotonically distributed along the continuum from low to high. Thus, the normative structure, as it pertains to the position of elementary school teacher,

appears to be characterized by infinite levels as opposed to a relatively constant level of agreement.

3. The mean Agreement Scores for all forty-five norms tend to fluctuate around the 50-per-cent level, being lower for the citizens and higher for school personnel. Thus, the normative world is characterized by an overall level of agreement midway between zero and 100 per cent rather than by full agreement.

4. For a given population, levels of agreement tend to be constant from one community to another.

5. Differences in levels of agreement among teachers from one school to another tend to be greater than differences from one school district to another. This finding suggests that within-community differences in normative views are greater than between-community differences.

6. Levels of agreement are not positively related to size of community. Rather, for the three subject communities, there is some evidence that the reverse is true.

Range of Agreement Scores by Populations and Communities

While it might be assumed that there is a marked variation from one role norm to another in the extent to which the members of a given population agree, the actual extent of this variation could not be anticipated. Because norms are ordinarily defined as generally accepted and generally adhered to ways of acting in given situations, there is always a tendency to assume a relatively high level of agreement among the members of a given population and that extensive disagreement exists for only a few norms. However, everyday experience might suggest marked differences of opinion as to what is proper behavior. Thus, one of the first questions to be asked pertains to the *range* of levels of agreement, role norm by role norm, among the members of given populations of position holders.

Also, there was no way to anticipate whether or not the range of levels of agreement would vary markedly from one population to another, such as from teachers to citizens. Depending upon assumptions that could be made, one could anticipate an equally narrow or wide range of levels of agreement among both teachers and citizens or a wide range for one and a narrow range for the other.

Finally, there was no way to anticipate whether the range of levels of agreement, role norm by role norm, would be similar or different from one community to another. From one point of view, a larger and more heterogeneous community might be expected to display a greater range of agreement levels than a smaller and more homogeneous community. From another point of view, one might expect communities to be much alike as to range of agreement levels by virtue of broad cultural patterns that transcend community boundaries.

The first step in the analysis of the data consists, therefore, of the measurement of level of agreement for each item in the role-norm inventory and the identification of the role norms having the lowest and highest level of agreement. The measure—the Agreement Score—is used for the responses both when each population is reporting its own views and when reporting its perceptions of the views of other populations. Given these extreme Agreement Scores, comparisons then are made between populations and between communities.

Table 1 shows the range of Agreement Scores from one role norm to another for all teachers in each of the three school districts when they are reporting their *own views*. It is to be noted that the range is wide and essentially the same for all three populations of teachers, being, respectively, from lows of .108, .082, and .073 to highs of .958, .962, and .956.

TABLE 1

Range of Agreement Scores for Individual Role Norms for Teachers' Own Views and Their Perceptions of the Views of Others for the Position of Elementary School Teacher, for Three Communities

	Community A			*Community B*			*Community C*		
	Low Score	*High Score*	*Range*	*Low Score*	*High Score*	*Range*	*Low Score*	*High Score*	*Range*
Teachers' Own Views	.108	.958	.850	.082	.962	.880	.073	.956	.883
Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of:									
Citizens	.206	.661	.455	.235	.640	.405	.215	.760	.545
Principals	.217	.915	.698	.127	.915	.788	.131	.865	.734
School Board	.190	.792	.602	.117	.826	.709	.164	.849	.685
Superintendent	.174	.888	.714	.151	.931	.780	.112	.862	.750

Table 1 also shows the lowest and highest Agreement Scores for all teachers in each of the three school districts when they are reporting their *perceptions* of the views of the other populations. In the case of the teachers' perceptions of the views of the principals, the school board, and the central-office staff, the ranges are only slightly less than when they indicate their own views. However, in the case of teachers' *percep-*

tions of the views of the citizens, the range is markedly lower and attentuated at the upper end of the range with the highest scores being .661, .640, and .760.

When a similar examination (Table 2) is made of the range of Agreement Scores, by communities, for the citizens, the principals, the school boards, and the central-office staffs—when these populations are reporting both their own views and their perceptions of the teachers' views—the range is again wide but less so for the citizens than for the other populations.

TABLE 2
Range of Agreement Scores by Individual Role Norms for the Views of Populations of Others and Their Perceptions of the Views of Teachers for the Position of Elementary School Teacher, for Three Communities

	Community A			*Community B*			*Community C*		
	Low Score	*High Score*	*Range*	*Low Score*	*High Score*	*Range*	*Low Score*	*High Score*	*Range*
Own Views									
Citizens	.094	.772	.678	.079	.651	.572	.038	.780	.742
Principals	.167	1.000	.833	.281	.963	.682	.190	1.000	.810
School Board	.000	1.000	1.000	.049	1.000	.951	—.006	1.000	1.006
Central Office*	—.688	1.000	1.688				.063	1.000	.937
*Perceptions of Teachers' Views**									
Citizens	.159	.822	.663				.036	.807	.771
Principals	.226	1.000	.774				.167	.976	.809
School Board	.250	1.000	.750				.167	1.000	.833
Central Office	—.063	1.000	1.063				.063	1.000	.837

* In Community B, data were not gathered regarding the views of the central-office staff or the perceptions of the views of teachers by the populations of others.

In view of the wide range of Agreement Scores for all populations for both their own views and their perceptions of the view of others, one is led to ask whether the range is truly wide or is a consequence of a few atypical role-norm statements which, if deleted, would materially reduce the range. The latter possibility does not appear to be the case. When the Agreement Scores for each of the forty-five role norms are ranked and plotted for each population and community, they tend to be monotonically distributed along the continuum from low to high. Examples of this monotonic distribution are shown, by communities, for teachers' own views (Chart 1), for citizens' own views (Chart 2), and for principals' own views (Chart 3).

Chart 1

Rank Order of Agreement Scores for Teachers' Own Views for 45 Role Norms Plotted from Low to High for Three Communities

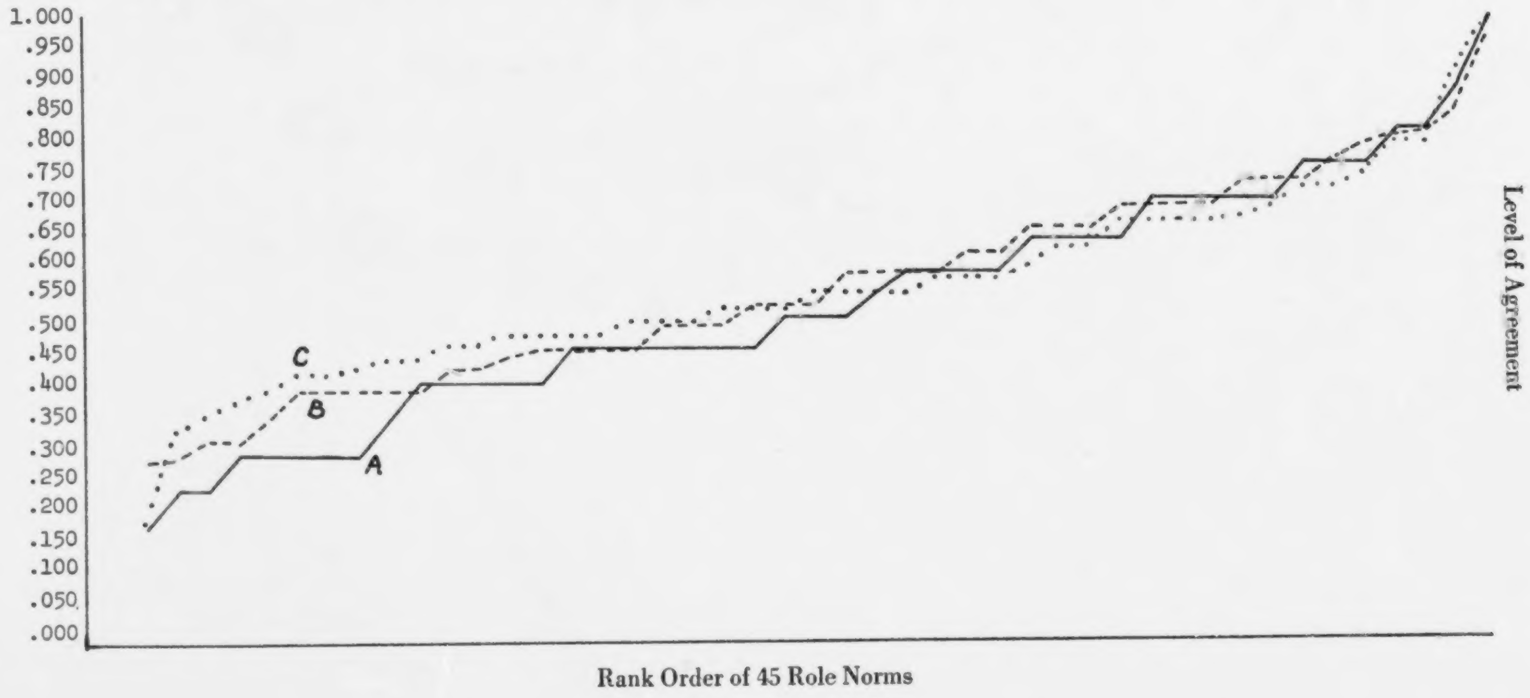


CHART 2

Rank Order of Agreement for Citizens' Own Views for 45 Role Norms Plotted from Low to High for Three Communities

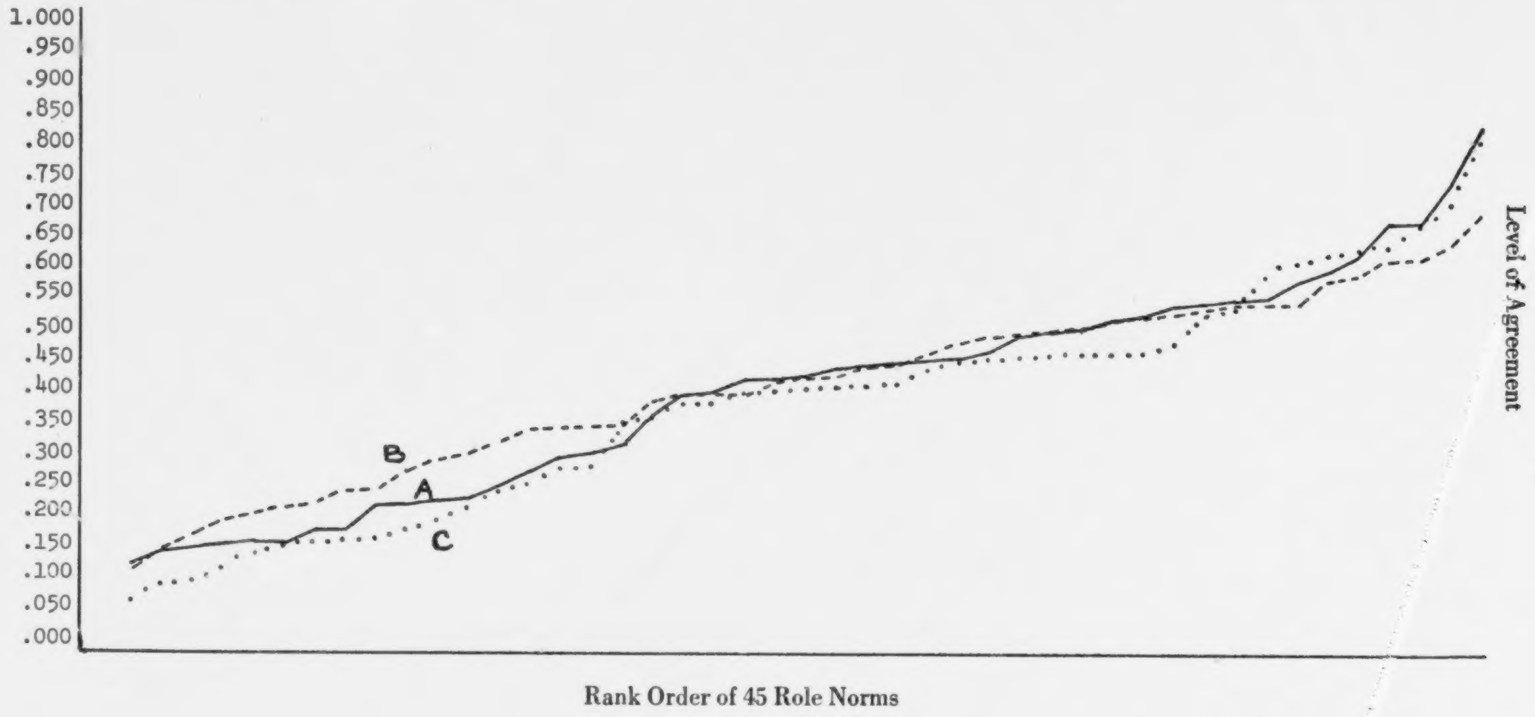
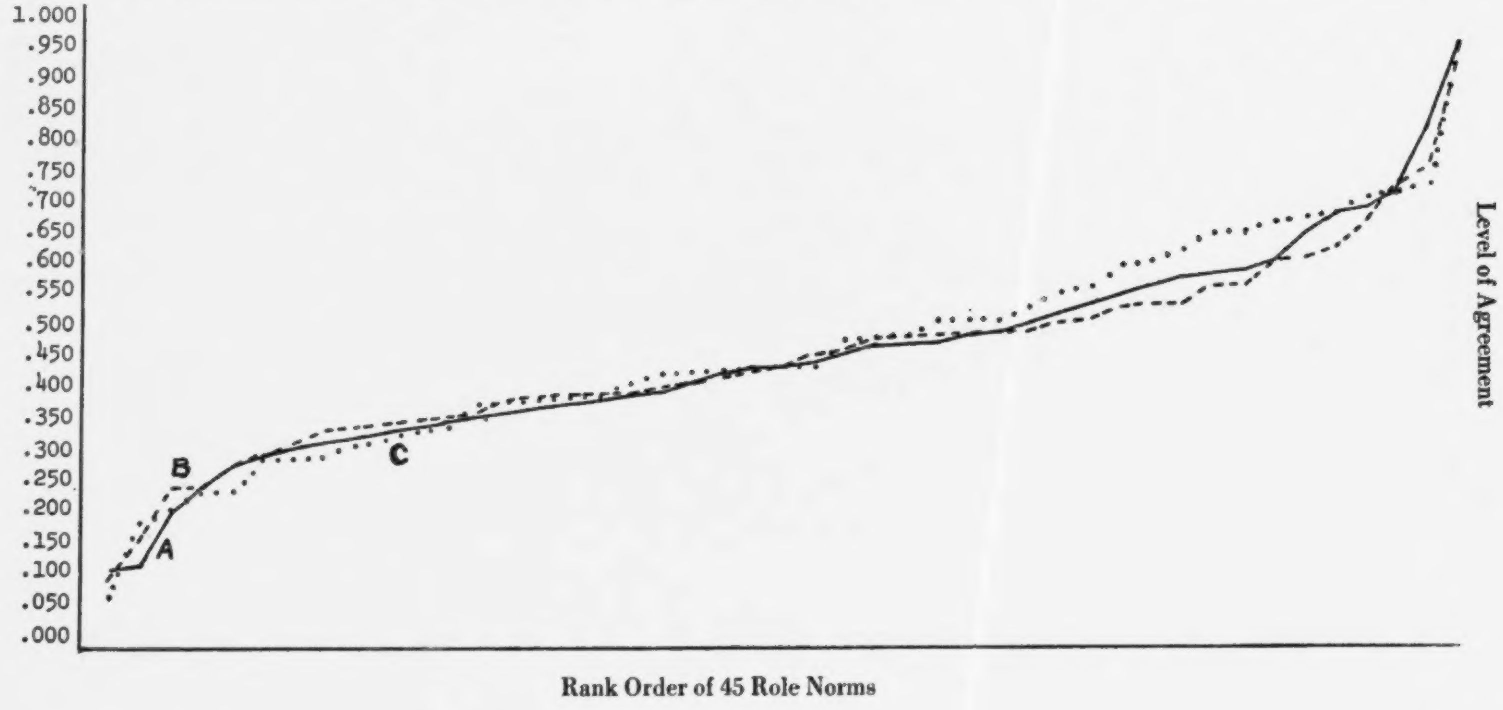


CHART 3

Rank Order of Agreement Scores for Principals' Own Views for 45 Role Norms Plotted from Low to High for Three Communities



The results are essentially the same when the Agreement Scores for other populations are examined and when the data pertain to the perceptions that one population has of the views of another population.

Range of Agreement Scores by Schools

Because all teachers in each of the three school districts were treated as a single population in the above analysis, it is possible that the range and monotonic distribution of Agreement Scores for teachers are a function of the inherent diversity of views in a large population and that the findings would be different if the analysis treated the teachers of each school as a separate population. If each school is a semi-autonomous unit with most interaction among teachers being limited to colleagues within the individual school buildings, the range and distribution of levels of agreement might be unique to each school and somewhat different than when all teachers are treated as a single population. Logically, one might expect the range to be reduced by virtue of within-school homogeneity. Accordingly, separate Agreement Scores were calculated for the teachers in each school within each of the school districts.

As would be expected, there is some variation from one school to another in the range of Agreement Scores over the forty-five role norms when teachers report their own views. In a few schools, the range from lowest to highest score is wide. For example, in Community A the six teachers in one school have an Agreement Score of —.167 for role norm #36 and a score of 1.000 for role norm #26, making a range of 1.167. In Community B the seventeen teachers in one school have corresponding scores of —.191 for role norm #6 and 1.000 for role norm #35, the range being 1.191. In Community C the nineteen teachers in one of the schools have an even lower score of —.408 for role norm #36 and a score of 1.000 for role norm #35, yielding the widest range of 1.408. Ranges of this extent are not typical and only eight of the seventy schools in the three communities have ranges exceeding 1.000.

Again, for a few schools the range from the lowest to the highest Agreement Score for individual role norms is relatively limited. For one school of nineteen teachers in Community A, the lowest score is .123 for role norm #6 and the highest score is .912 for role norm #35, for a range of .789. Corresponding scores for the fifteen teachers in one school in Community B are .222 for role norm #36 and .944 for role norm #44, making the range .722. In Community C, the narrowest range is for a school having 29 teachers where the extreme scores are .109 for role norm #13 and .770 for role norm #19, the range being .661. Of the seventy schools, ten have a range below .800. For most schools the range of Agreement Scores is more similar to the range when all teachers in a community are combined.

To provide an over-all comparison of the range of agreement among teachers by schools with the range when the responses of all teachers in a community are combined, both the lowest and the highest Agreement Scores for all schools were averaged. These averages, together with the range of scores for all teachers combined, are shown in Table 3. The striking finding is the consistency in which the mean lowest scores by schools are lower than for all teachers combined; and the mean highest scores are higher than for all teachers combined, thereby making a wider range of scores. Thus, the range of agreement is not reduced by restricting the analysis to individual schools. Also, little difference is noted among the three communities in the lower and upper limits of the average range of agreement by schools.

TABLE 3

Comparison of Range of Agreement Scores for Teachers' Own Views by Schools and by All Teachers, for Three Communities

	Community A	*Community B*	*Community C*
By Schools			
Mean Lowest Score	.021	.063	.013
Mean Highest Score	.975	.978	.956
Mean Range	.954	.915	.946
All Teachers			
Lowest Score	.108	.082	.073
Highest Score	.958	.962	.956
Range	.850	.880	.883

When a school-by-school analysis is made of teachers' perceptions of the views of each of the other populations, the pattern is the same; but the difference between the average range by schools and the range for all teachers combined is somewhat greater.

While it is not entirely clear as to why the range of Agreement Scores is higher on the average for teachers in individual schools than for all teachers combined, there are two possibilities. In the first place, it is to be noted that the particular role norm having the lowest or the highest Agreement Score varies from one school to another. Indeed, among the seventy schools, sixteen different role norms had the highest score one or more times and twenty-five different role norms had the lowest score one or more times. (Further, six of the role norms were highest in one school and lowest in another.) Because the schools vary as to which role norm has the lowest or highest score, a maximum range is produced when the individual school is the unit of analysis as compared with all teachers where only one norm can be high or low.

A second possible reason for the higher average range of Agreement Scores by schools than by all teachers within each of the communities is that several schools in each community have only a few teachers, thereby introducing a variability in scores that is not present for the total population of teachers.

Extent of Agreement

In the above analysis, attention was focused on the range of levels of agreement over the forty-five items comprising the role-norm inventory for the position of elementary school teacher. The next step in the analysis is to examine the over-all extent of agreement within the several populations, both in regard to their own views and their perceptions of others' views. The primary objective of this analysis is to determine the extent of agreement over the entire inventory of role norms and the extent of variation in levels of agreement from one community to another and, for teachers, the extent of variation in levels of agreement from one school to another within communties.

Teachers' Own Views

As shown on line 1 of Table 4, when the Agreement Scores for teachers' own views for the fifteen role-norm statements in Role 1 (acting toward pupils) are averaged, the resulting mean scores are .395 in Community A, .407 in Community B, and .428 in Community C. Thus the level of agreement is essentially the same for each of the three populations of teachers and is well below the 50-per-cent (5.00) level. When the Agreement Scores for the ten role-norm statements for Role 2 (acting toward colleagues) are averaged, the corresponding mean scores are .428, .445, and .412. Again the level of agreement is relatively constant for the three populations of teachers and is well below the 50-per-cent level.

Corresponding mean scores for the ten role-norm statements for Role 3 (acting toward parents) and for Role 4 (acting toward community) are higher, clustering around the 50-per-cent level. Again, they are much the same for the three sets of teachers. (The exception occurs in Community C for Role 4, where the mean score reaches .563.)

TABLE 4
Mean Agreement Scores for Teachers' Own Views and Their Perceptions of the Views of Populations of Others, by Roles and Total Position of Elementary School Teacher, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles														
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils			*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*			*(3) Acting Toward Parents*			*(4) Acting Toward Community*			*Total Position*		
	A	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*
Teachers' Own Views	.395	.407	.428	.428	.445	.412	.505	.489	.503	.517	.493	.563	.454	.453	.471
Teachers' Perceptions of Views of:															
Citizens	.366	.415	.419	.468	.488	.481	.408	.445	.443	.509	.517	.556	.430	.461	.468
Principals	.414	.408	.430	.464	.483	.468	.531	.506	.484	.524	.508	.618	.475	.469	.492
School Board	.421	.400	.433	.499	.463	.478	.511	.474	.508	.539	.485	.552	.484	.449	.486
Superintendent	.378	.423	.425	.516	.473	.462	.527	.492	.496	.533	.489	.563	.476	.464	.480

When the Agreement Scores for all forty-five role-norm statements are averaged, the total mean scores are .454 for Community A, .453 for Community B, and .471 for Community C. Thus, over the entire role-norm inventory, the level of agreement among teachers varies little from one community to another.

Also shown in Table 4 are the mean Agreement Scores for all teachers by communities when the teachers give their *perceptions* of the views of each of the other populations. It is clear that in each instance, regardless of the population involved, the level of agreement among teachers is similar to that when they report their own views. This is true both for each of the four roles and for the total position. In some instances, the scores are slightly higher and in other instances, slightly lower; but over-all the pattern is relatively consistent. As in the case of teachers' own views, the level of agreement when they perceive the views of others is lowest for Role 1 and highest for Role 4. Seemingly, any stereotyping on the part of the teachers is not sufficient to raise the level of agreement above that for their own views; and any lack of familiarity with the views of others does not lower the amount of agreement.

Teachers' Own Views by Schools

As with the range of agreement scores discussed above, there is some variation from one school to another in extent of agreement among teachers. The extent of this variation is shown in Table 5. As an example, there is one school in Community A where the mean Agreement Score for the teachers when reporting their own views for all forty-five role norms is .438 and another school where the score is .540. In Community B and Community C the range is even greater and may be a function of the larger

TABLE 5

Lowest and Highest Mean Agreement Scores Among Schools for Teachers' Own Views and Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of Others, for Three Communities

	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
	Lowest Score	*Highest Score*	*Lowest Score*	*Highest Score*	*Lowest Score*	*Highest Score*
Teachers' Own Views	.438	.540	.435	.552	.432	.585
Teachers' Perceptions of Views of:						
Citizens	.376	.522	.428	.567	.434	.590
Principals	.468	.571	.457	.609	.488	.619
School Board	.448	.554	.411	.584	.442	.586
Superintendent	.459	.568	.434	.586	.444	.574

number of schools, thereby increasing the probability of extreme scores. When the corresponding figures for teachers' perceptions of the views of others are examined, the ranges are similar.

Another way to compare levels of agreement among teachers from one school to another is in terms of responses to individual role norms. Typically, for any given role norm, there is a relatively wide range of Agreement Scores from one school to another. For example, in the case of role norm #30 ("... tell a parent the tested I.Q. of his child"), there is one school in Community A where the Agreement Score for the teachers' own views is .111, indicating a virtual absence of any agreement. Another school has a score for the teachers of .722, indicating a marked clustering of views. In Community B, the corresponding scores for two schools are .259 and 1.000. In Community C, the extreme scores are .167 and .649. When the Agreement Scores for teachers' perceptions of the views of each of the other populations, for this same role norm, are exhibited school by school a comparable range from low to high is found.

Levels of agreement among teachers in the schools other than those with extreme scores tend to be uniformly distributed along the continuum from low to high.

When this same analysis is made for each of the other role norms the results are essentially the same. The average range of Agreement Scores from lowest to highest among the schools in each community, for all forty-five role norms, is .499 in Community A, .533 in Community B, and .626 in Community C.

Recognizing the difficulty in comparing differences between schools within communities and differences between teachers from one community to another, the data at least suggest that differences in level of agreement between schools within communities are more marked than differences between communities.

Views of Populations of Others

The next step in the analysis of levels of agreement is to examine the mean Agreement Scores of each of the populations of others, both for their own views and their perceptions of the views of teachers.

Citizens: The mean Agreement Scores for the citizens in each of the three communities, when reporting their own views by roles and by total position of elementary school teachers, are shown in Table 6. The mean scores of the three populations of citizens for the total position are similar: .368 in Community A, .378 in Community B, and .361 in Community

Table 6

Mean Agreement Scores for Others' Own Views and Their Perceptions of the Views of Teachers, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles														
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils			*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*			*(3) Acting Toward Parents*			*(4) Acting Toward Community*			*Total Position*		
	A	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*	*A*	*B*	*C*
Actual Views of:															
Citizens	.257	.272	.249	.363	.415	.353	.397	.417	.387	.509	.459	.509	.368	.378	.361
Principals	.492	.520	.531	.488	.501	.522	.598	.565	.610	.577	.664	.664	.534	.558	.576
School Board	.344	.460	.586	.533	.607	.542	.500	.583	.497	.550	.591	.688	.466	.549	.579
Central Office	.470	—	.493	.521	—	.525	.371	—	.623	.792	—	.813	.531	—	.600
Others' Perceptions of Teachers' Views:															
Citizens	.309	—	.306	.364	—	.365	.371	—	.347	.538	—	.529	.386	—	.378
Principals	.444	—	.521	.601	—	.503	.661	—	.595	.593	—	.686	.560	—	.570
School Board	.383	—	.400	.467	—	.517	.499	—	.550	.583	—	.750	.472	—	.537
Central Office	.429	—	.500	.646	—	.531	.498	—	.511	.729	—	.750	.559	—	.565

C. These mean scores are well below those of the teachers in the three communities as reported above and presumably reflect the heterogeneity of the citizen populations.

As in the case of the teachers, the citizens are uniformly in lowest agreement regarding the fifteen items contained in Role 1, the respective mean scores being .257, .272, and .249. Relatively, these mean scores are also appreciably lower than those of the teachers for Role 1 (.395, .407, and .428). The highest mean Agreement Scores are for Role 4 and closely approach those of the teachers. The citizens' mean Agreement Scores for Roles 2 and 3 are intermediate and again, while lower, are closer to those for the teachers than is the case for Role 1. Thus, much of the over-all difference between the level of agreement of citizens and teachers is due to the difference for Role 1.

When citizens in communities A and C report their *perceptions* of the views of the teachers, the mean Agreement Scores are higher for three of the four roles and for the total position (Table 6) than when reporting their own views. Interestingly, the exception is Role 3 (acting toward parents) where one might reasonably expect higher agreement as to the views of teachers by virtue of the relevancy of this role to a large portion of the lay population and greater experience with this phase of teacher behavior. Also, teachers are in relatively high agreement as to how they should act toward parents; and citizens should, therefore, have less difficulty in agreeing as to what are the views of the teachers.

Perhaps the most striking fact, however, is the similarity of levels of agreement between communities for both citizens' own views and their perceptions of the views of teachers.

Principals: In each of the three communities the principals are in higher agreement as to how they think teachers should act than are the teachers themselves. The over-all mean Agreement Scores are .534 for Community A, .558 for Community B, and .576 for Community C as compared to the corresponding mean scores of .454, .453, and .471 for teachers' own views. The principals are in the lowest agreement for Role 2 rather than Role 1 as in the case of the teachers. For all three communities, the level of agreement among the principals for Role 1 is approximately .100 higher than that of the teachers. Principals thus have a somewhat clearer idea as to how teachers should act toward pupils than do the teachers themselves. This also holds for Role 3 (acting toward parents).

As with teachers and citizens, there is no marked difference in level of agreement between the principals of the three communities. The principals seem to have a more consistent set of criteria for teachers' behavior than do the teachers.

When the principals in communities A and C attempt to *predict* the views of their teachers, the over-all level of agreement remains high but there is some variation from one community to another.

School Boards: While there is some variation from one school board to another and from one role to another, the level of agreement among the members of the school boards is similar to that of the principals (Table 6). The major exception is the school board in Community A. When it reports its own views and its perceptions of the views of teachers for Role 1, the two mean Agreement Scores are .344 and .383, respectively. Thus school board members in a small school district would be in lower agreement than in a larger and more heterogeneous school district. Such a finding raises some question regarding the *gemeinschaft*-like characteristics of smaller communities.

Also, the level of agreement among school board members in Community C is higher than for Community A regarding teachers acting toward the wider community (Role 4). Again, there does not appear to be a folk culture common to the members of the smaller community. An explanation would be that a more urban and secularized community would be more permissive and that such permissiveness would yield higher agreement. Such is not the case, for the principals and school board members in Community A are more permissive in general than in Community C. Yet another possibility is that the smaller community, characterized by a mixture of urban and non-urban views, has more diversity of normative expectations.

As a result of the markedly lower mean Agreement Scores for the school board in Community A for Role 1 and Role 4, the mean Agreement Scores for the total position of elementary school teacher also are lower in Community A and highest in Community C. In addition to the explanation for this difference as suggested above, there is the possibility that there is more of a professional orientation in the larger school district and that this professionalization affects the views of the members of the school board as well as principals. While the difference is relatively small, it is to be recalled that there is more agreement among the teachers in Community C than in Community A. However, if professionalization is operating, the amount of agreement among citizens is not affected by it.

Central-Office Staffs: Understandably, the level of agreement among the members of the two central-office staffs tends to be relatively high, but perhaps not so high as might be expected for a small group that is professionally oriented and where the members are in close communication contact. The one instance of relatively low agreement is for the central-office staff in Community A when they are reporting their own views for Role 3, the mean score being .371. Surprisingly, there is less agreement among the members of this group as to how teachers should act toward parents than there is among the citizens in the same community, who have a mean score of .397.

III

Agreement of Populations Between Communities

The preceding chapter was devoted to the range and extent of unilateral agreement among members of the several populations of position holders in each of the three communities. As pointed out in Chapter 1, the concept of consensus involves both unilateral agreement, i.e., similarity of views within populations, and extent of agreement among populations. This chapter is devoted, therefore, to the extent of agreement among given populations of position holders from one community to another.

One of the purposes of examining the extent of agreement of populations across communities is to determine the extent to which the normative structure—as it pertains to the position of elementary school teacher—is community specific and thus variable from one community to another or is cultural and thus basically the same in all communities. This information will have a bearing on the problem of consensus within communities and on the possibility of local efforts to modify normative views. If normative views tend to be culturally defined, they will be less subject to local control than if they tend to be community specific. The basic findings regarding the agreement of views are:

1. There is very little difference between the responses of the citizens from one community to another. Indeed, the differences are so small that the three samples of citizens appear to have been drawn from a single universe. This finding suggests that the views of citizens are defined by the broader culture and are not community specific.

2. While there is more variation in the responses of the teachers from one community to another than in the case of the citizens, the differences again are relatively small. An examination of teacher responses to individual role norms indicates that much of the difference from one community to another is due to school-district policy rather than to the size and type of the community itself. Broadly, then, the views that teachers have of their own position are also culturally defined rather than being community specific.

3. Differences in the responses of the principals from one community to another are greater than those of the teachers. Thus the principals' ideas as to how teachers should act are community specific to a degree. A detailed analysis of responses to individual role norms suggests some relationship between size and type of community and the way principals perceive the position of teacher.

4. When the responses of the members of the school boards are examined, even greater differences are found between communities. These differences are of a magnitude and type to indicate a definite linkage between the normative views of board members and the size and type of community. There is less evidence than in the case of the previous populations of a culturally defined set of views regarding the position of elementary school teacher.

5. Finally, a comparison of the views of the three superintendents revealed differences greater than for any of the other populations. The normative views of the superintendents, then, are the most community specific and least reflective of a general or cultural point of view. However, as pointed out, this specificity may be more a matter of idiosyncratic views than a reflection of the community itself.

6. The extent of differences of view regarding the position of elementary school teacher from one community to another varies for different populations. The difference is least for citizens and it increases progressively through teachers, principals, school boards, and superintendents.

Stated otherwise, the normative views of citizens are the least community specific while the normative views of superintendents are the most.

Rank Order Correlations

Table 7 shows the Spearman rank order correlation coefficients when the mean Response Scores of each population of subjects for all forty-five role norms are ranked and compared to the ranked scores of the corresponding population in each of the other two communities. In all instances, with the exceptions of the superintendents in communities B and C and in communities A and C, the coefficients range upward from .61. With 43 degrees of freedom and using the *t* test there are no significant differences even at the .001 level. In the case of the two exceptions, the coefficients are .35 and .46, respectively, and border on being not significant.

TABLE 7

Rank Order Correlation (Rho) Between Communities of Mean Response Scores for Each Population of Subjects*

Populations	*Communities*		
	A and B	*B and C*	*A and C*
Teachers' Own Views	.96	.94	.94
Citizens' Own Views	.80	.77	.98
Principals' Own Views	.92	.90	.89
School Boards' Own Views	.75	.79	.64
Superintendents' Own Views	.61	.35	.46

* T-test values exceed significance at .01 level in all instances and at .001 level in all but two instances with 43 d.f.

For the entire role-norm inventory of forty-five items, there are no significant differences of views from one community to another, with the exception of the superintendents. In short, each of the populations in each of the communities may be regarded as a sample from a single universe. These findings, in turn, point toward the conclusion that the normative views held in each community are culturally defined as opposed to being community specific.

However, some caution is required in the interpretation of these data. The rank order correlations measure the extent to which two populations hold the same relative degree of approval or disapproval for each of the role-norm statements. Even though a given role norm may have the same rank order as regards mean Response Score for both of two populations, there may still be some difference in the scores and hence in the degree to which they approve or disapprove of the behavior in question. For example, for all three populations of teachers, role norm #30 has the highest mean Response Score. However, the score for teachers in Community A is 4.45 as compared to 4.17 for the teachers in Community C. The difference is .28, the prevailing view of the teachers in Community A being more disapproving than the teachers in Community C.

As a consequence, the above statement of no significant difference must be qualified to read no significant difference in *relative* degree of approval or disapproval from one role norm to another. In addition, while there may not be a significant difference between communities when all role norms are taken together, there may be a marked difference for particular role norms. For these reasons, the next step in the analysis will compare mean Response Scores role norm by role norm across communities for each population.

Differences Between Mean Response Scores

When the responses of each population in each community are compared with the responses of the corresponding population in each of the other communities in terms of mean Response Scores, additional light is thrown on the question of variation of normative views from one community to another. As will be seen, the variation in prevailing views as represented by mean Response Scores is remarkably limited for a large proportion of the role norms and significantly large for only a few role norms.

Teachers' Own Views by Communities

Table 8 shows the mean difference per role norm between mean Response Scores when the teachers of each community are compared with the teachers of each of the other two communities. For the position of teacher as a whole, the mean difference per role norm in each instance is only a fraction of a response category, being .17 as between the teachers of communities A and B; .22 as between the teachers of communities A and C; and .23 as between the teachers of communities B and C.

TABLE 8

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views from One Community to Another

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
A and B	.19	.08	.21	.17	.17
A and C	.22	.21	.16	.30	.22
B and C	.23	.18	.22	.29	.23

When responses are examined by individual role norms, differences range from zero to .78. For example, the mean Response Score for both Community A and Community B teachers to role norm #14 ("... express their own political views in the classroom") is 3.95. On the other hand, the mean Response Score for Community A teachers to role norm #29 (" . . . discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests") is 3.64 as compared to 2.86 for Community B teachers, a difference of .78.

Similarly, there is no difference in the views of Community A and Community C teachers regarding the "exercising of great caution in expressing views outside the classroom on controversial issues—because of their position," the mean score being 3.07 in both cases. But, Community A teachers are more favorable toward "spending an eight-hour day at school" (2.20) than are Community C teachers (2.94).

For Community A and Community B teachers there are only three role norms where the difference is .50 or more; for Community B and Community C teachers there are seven such norms; and for Community A and Community C teachers there are only two. In each case the difference is .24 or less for approximately two-thirds of the norms.

Yet another way of measuring the amount of variation in teacher responses from one community to another is to compare all three communities simultaneously and identify the extreme mean Response Scores to show the range of variation. For example, for role norm #1 (". . . assign homework regularly"), the mean Response Scores for teachers' own views are 3.33 for Community A, 3.58 for Community B, and 3.34 for Community C. The extreme scores are for communities A and B and the extent of the difference is .25. This represents the range of variation across communities.

For all forty-five role norms (Table 9) the mean difference per role

TABLE 9

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between Extreme Mean Response Scores for Each Population of Subjects' Own Views Among Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Populations	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Teachers	.28	.23	.30	.38	.30
Citizens	.17	.10	.18	.23	.17
Principals	.45	.46	.46	.54	.47
School Boards	.90	.71	.84	.63	.78
Superintendents	1.27	1.20	1.00	1.30	1.20

norm between the extreme mean Response Scores among the three populations of teachers is .30. For one-half of the role norms the difference is .25 or less and for seven of the role norms the difference is .50 or more.

Understandably, some differences of views between teachers across communities are found when comparisons are made at the level of individual role norms; but the extent of the differences does not appear sufficient to negate the conclusion that there is no systematic difference in the way the three populations of teachers view their position.

What is particularly important is that there is no evidence of a relation between size and type of community and variation in the normative views of teachers. There is no more difference between the responses of Community A and Community C teachers than between Community B and Community C teachers.

Citizens' Own Views by Communities

When an analysis is made of the responses of the sample of citizens in each of the three communities, the differences between communities are even less than for the teachers as reported above.

For all forty-five role norms the mean difference per role norm in mean Response Scores (Table 10) is .12 for communities A and B, .10 for communities A and C, and .12 for communities B and C. These mean differences are approximately one-half of those for teachers (Table 8).

TABLE 10
Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Citizens' Own Views from One Community to Another

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
A and B	.12	.06	.11	.17	.12
A and C	.11	.07	.12	.09	.10
B and C	.12	.06	.12	.19	.12

In each instance there are only a few role norms where the difference in mean Response Scores exceeds .25: three in the case of communities A and B, seven in communities B and C, and two in communities A and C. It is striking that there should be so little difference in views among citizens regarding appropriate behavior for teachers for three such widely different communities.

The greatest difference between citizens' views by communities is between communities B and C for role norm #1 ("... assign homework regularly"). The mean Response Score for Community B citizens is 2.30 and that for Community C citizens is 1.86, making a difference of .44. For communities A and C the respective scores for this same role norm are 2.19 and 1.86, a difference of .33. Somewhat surprisingly, the citizens in the large and more urban community are more in favor of regular homework than the citizens in the middle size and the small communities. Citizens in communities A and B differ the most regarding teachers making political speeches, the respective scores being 3.60 and 4.02 for a difference of .42. Even these maximum differences are not large and in each instance it is only a matter of difference in degree of approval or disapproval.

Variations in the responses of citizens from one community to another were also measured in terms of mean difference per role norm between extreme mean Response Scores (Table 9). For all forty-five role norms the mean difference is .17, approximately one-half of that for teachers.

On an over-all basis, responses of the citizens of the three communities are essentially the same and thus provide evidence that citizens' views tend to be culturally defined rather than community specific. Indeed, it appears that the citizens of the three communities are but three samples from a single universe. As a consequence, there is no apparent effect of community size and type on the way citizens view the position of teacher.

Principals' Own Views by Communities

It is when one turns to principals' own views regarding the position of elementary school teacher that differences between communities begin to appear (Table 11). The mean difference per role norm for the entire role-norm inventory is .33 for communities A and B and for communi-

TABLE 11

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Principals' Own Views from One Community to Another

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
A and B	.33	.26	.29	.45	.33
A and C	.27	.37	.32	.37	.33
B and C	.31	.27	.30	.24	.28

ties A and C. For communities B and C the difference is .28. These differences are appreciably greater than those found among the citizens and somewhat larger than those among the teachers.

As for teachers and citizens, there is no difference for some norms and a relatively larger difference for others, but for the principals the range of differences is greater, exceeding 1.00 in some instances. The differences exceed .50 for approximately 25 per cent of the norms.

For example, the principals in Community A think teachers should spend an eight-hour day at school (mean score of 2.00) while the principals in Community B are permissive (mean score of 3.18). The difference between the two scores is 1.18. In Community A 71 per cent of the principals responded either *definitely* or *preferably should* while only 23 per cent of Community B principals responded in these categories.

Another example concerns teachers insisting that parents contact them at school rather than at home. In Community B one-half of the principals responded *preferably should* and the other half responded *may or may not* or in one of the *should not* categories. In Community C 91 per cent responded either *definitely* or *preferably should.* The difference in mean Response Scores is 1.02.

Similar differences exist regarding drill practice, extra duty without compensation, telling parents the results of standardized achievement test scores and I.Q. scores, assignment of homework, detailed lesson plans, depriving pupils of privileges, and joining labor unions. In many instances the differences are not a matter of degree of approval or disapproval, but involve opposing prevailing views.

On the other hand there are norms where there is virtually no difference in the views of principals from one community to another. For instance, regarding teachers expressing their political views in the classroom, the mean Response Score of principals is 4.29 in Community A, 4.27 in Community B, and 4.34 in Community C. In each case approximately 50 per cent of the principals responded *definitely should not* and the remaining half responded either *preferably should not* or *may or may not.* A comparable similarity of responses across communities was found for norms regarding experimentation with new teaching techniques, devoting most of the time to individual pupils or small groups, personal telephone calls while at school, checking home conditions when pupils have trouble, discussing with parents the weaknesses of other teachers, and attending church.

Even though there is some variation in principals' views from community to community, there is no evidence that these differences are systematically linked to community size or type. There is no more difference, for example, between communities A and C than between communities A and B. Only in the case of selected role norms can any evidence of such linkage be found, and even then the difference may reflect school-district policy rather than characteristics of the wider community.

School Boards' Own Views by Communities

Some caution is necessary when comparing the differences between school boards from one community to another with the corresponding differences between the other populations. Due to the small number of members on school boards, an atypical response by a single board member can materially affect a mean Response Score. However, the fact that the level of agreement among school board members as reported in Chapter 2 is just as high as among teachers and principals indicates a limited extent of idiosyncratic response.

The mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores of the school boards from one community to another is greater than in the case of teachers, citizens, and principals. For all norms the mean differences are .46 for communities A and B, .64 for communities A and C, and .52 for communities B and C (Table 12). The differences exceed .50 for nearly one-half of the role norms and 1.00 for approximately 15 per cent.

TABLE 12

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for School Boards' Own Views from One Community to Another

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
A and B	.53	.48	.42	.36	.46
A and C	.77	.53	.62	.57	.64
B and C	.58	.46	.70	.33	.52

One example of a marked difference between school boards is the norm pertaining to pupils being encouraged to question opinions held by the teacher. In Community B the mean Response Score is 3.00 as a result of one member responding in each of the five response categories. In Community C three board members responded *definitely should* and one responded *may or may not.* The difference in mean Response Scores is 1.50 or one and a half response categories. In the one instance there is zero agreement with no prevailing view and in the other instance the prevailing view is that teachers *should* encourage pupils to question their opinions.

Another example is provided by the norm regarding teachers discussing a child's score on standardized achievement tests. In Community A four of the five members of the school board responded *may or may not* and the other responded *definitely should.* The resulting mean score is 2.60, indicating a generally permissive view. In Community B five of the seven board members responded *definitely should,* one *preferably should,* and one *may or may not.* The resulting mean score is 1.42, indicating a generally strong conviction that teachers should discuss the test scores with parents. The difference in mean scores is 1.18.

Yet another example concerns teachers experimenting with new teaching techniques. The school board in Community B is somewhat enthusiastic about the idea. Five members responded *definitely should* and two responded *preferably should,* for a score of 1.29. In Community A the board members are divided; two responded *definitely should,* two *may or may not,* and one *definitely should not* for a mean score of 2.60. The difference between the two scores is 1.31.

Other norms where there is a difference in mean Response Scores of 1.00 or more between two of the school boards include the regular assignment of homework, loss of privileges as a form of punishment, evaluation on the basis of individual improvement, giving greater attention to the more capable pupils, using extra academic work as a form of punishment, and the exercise of great caution in expressing views on controversial issues.

On the other hand, there are a number of norms where the responses of the school boards are essentially the same from one community to another. These include giving a great deal of drill practice, using physical punishment, continuing to take college courses, investigating home conditions, being active in community youth programs, attending church, and patronizing cocktail lounges.

When the extent of variation is measured in terms of range of scores, the mean difference per role norm between extreme scores is .78 (Table 9). This is more than four times that of the range among citizens, two and a half that of teachers, and one and a half that of principals. Interestingly, the variation is highest for those norms regarding teachers acting toward pupils (.90 per role norm) and lowest for the norms pertaining to teachers acting toward the wider community (.63 per role norm).

In contrast to the previous populations, there is some evidence that the views of school boards tend to be community specific and linked to the size and type of community. In general, the views of the school board in Community C, the largest and most urban, are least conventional or traditional; and the views of the school board in Community A, the smallest and least urban, are the most conventional. Further, the mean difference per role norm in the responses of the school boards in communities A and C is greater than between either communities A and B or B and C. However, it is possible, as suggested above, that the views of each school board are idiosyncratic and that their views do not really reflect community characteristics.

Superintendents' Own Views by Communities

A comparison of the views of the three superintendents show that the differences are larger than for any of the other populations (Table 13).

TABLE 13

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Superintendents' Own Views from One Community to Another

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
A and B	.80	.70	.50	.30	.60
A and C	1.07	.70	.80	1.00	.91
B and C	.67	1.00	.90	1.30	.93

For the entire role-norm inventory the mean difference per role norm between the views of the superintendents is .60 for communities A and B, .91 for communities A and C, and .93 for communities B and C. When a comparison is made among all three superintendents in terms of extreme responses, the mean difference per role norm is 1.20 (Table 9). While these differences are appreciably greater than those for even the school boards, it is to be kept in mind that the comparisons do not involve mean scores but rather actual responses. Because mean scores involve a regression toward the mean, a comparison of actual responses will inevitably show greater differences. This circumstance, however, cannot account for all of the greater variation among superintendents as compared to the other populations.

There is one role norm ("... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time") where one of the superintendents responded *definitely should,* another *may or may not,* and the third *definitely should not.* In this and other such cases there are conflicting or opposing views among the superintendents.

In many instances the differences are a matter of degree of approval or disapproval. For example, one superintendent responded *definitely should,* another *preferably should,* and the third *may or may not.*

Finally, for thirteen of the forty-five role norms the responses of all three superintendents were identical. Examples of this identity of views are the norms regarding the use of physical punishment, discussing religious beliefs in the classroom, making personal telephone calls while at school, accepting the judgment of parents, and serving alcoholic beverages.

Thus, the relatively large mean difference in the responses of the superintendents over all forty-five role norms is due largely to the very large difference for a few norms. Variations in views tend to be specific rather than general.

A detailed examination of those role norms where there is a difference of views from one superintendent to another does not show any systematic relation to the characteristics of the community itself. Sometimes the superintendent in the largest and most urban community is the most liberal or cosmopolitan and sometimes he is the least. This same situation holds for each of the other superintendents. It thus appears that the differences are idiosyncratic rather than community specific.

IV

Agreement Among Populations

In Chapter 3 the responses of each population were compared across communities. In this chapter the comparisons will be within communities including: a comparison of the responses of teachers by schools, a comparison of the responses of all teachers within each community with the responses of each of the other populations, and a comparison of the responses of teachers by schools with each of the other populations. As in the preceding chapter, comparisons will be made in terms of mean differences per role norm in mean Response Scores, with the exception of the comparison of teachers' views school by school where this measure is not applicable. In this case the alternate measure to be employed is the mean difference per role norm between extreme mean Response Scores, thus showing the extent of variation of views.

The data to be summarized and illustrated below reveal a number of basic patterns regarding the extent of agreement among populations and may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Within communities there is a marked variation from one school to another in the views held by teachers regarding their role.

2. Within communities there is a marked variation from one school to another in the extent to which teachers' own views correspond to the views held by each of the other populations.

3. Within communities the average amount of difference per role norm between the views of all teachers and the views of all principals is relatively low, and less than for teachers versus citizens, school boards, and superintendents.

4. Within communities the average amount of difference per role norm between the views of all teachers and all citizens is moderate, and less than between teachers and school board members or superintendents.

5. Within communities the average amount of difference per role norm between the views of all teachers and the superintendent is greater than between teachers and the other populations.

6. The type and size of communities have little or no relationship to the amount of difference between the views held by teachers and by each of the other populations.

Teachers vs. Teachers by Schools

In the above comparisons of teachers' own views across communities the data showed relatively little difference of views from one community to another. The comparison to be made here is between teachers from one school to another within communities. The measure is that of the difference between the extreme mean Response Scores among all schools in a given community. For example, for one school in Community A, the mean Response Score for the teachers when reporting their own views for role norm # 1 is 2.83, while the corresponding score for the teachers in another school is 3.67. The scores for the teachers in each of the remaining schools in Community A fall between these two extremes. For this norm, then, the extent of variation among all schools is .84. These data, expressed as mean differences by roles and total position for the three communities, are summarized in Table 14.

The mean range of differences of views on the part of teachers from one school to another for Community A is .93, for Community B .99, and for Community C, 1.19. These differences are several times as great as those between the teachers from one community to another (Table 9).

TABLE 14
Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between Extreme Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views, Among Schools, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	1.01	1.01	.90	.79	.93
Community B	1.02	.93	1.10	.90	.99
Community C	1.28	1.15	1.11	1.12	1.19

This seems to indicate that variations in the way teachers view their position are greater within communities than between communities. However, because the probability of variation is greater for a large than a small sample, one would expect more variation among the fourteen schools in Community A than among the three communities. For Community B with twenty-two schools and Community C with thirty-four schools, one would expect even more variation. Due to the nature of the measure used, it is not possible to determine the extent to which sample size accounts for the greater range of mean Response Scores within communities than between communities. All that can be said is that there is not a linear relationship between sample size and extent of variation.

What is important, however, is that there is a variation from school to school in teachers' own views. This variation averages approximately one full response category per role norm and for some role norms approaches two full response categories.

A few examples illustrate the extent to which the views of teachers vary from one school to another. In Community A there is one school where the teachers' mean Response Score for role norm #16 ("... devote time outside of regular teaching duties to school affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional compensation") is 2.56. Another school had the corresponding score of 4.29, making a difference of 1.73. In the first school 50 per cent of the teachers responded either *definitely* or *preferably should*, another 25 per cent responded *may or may not*, and the remaining teachers responded *preferably should not*. In the second school 57 per cent responded *definitely should not* and 29 per cent responded *preferably should not*. In the first school the prevailing view is in favor of the extra duties while in the second school the teachers are strongly opposed to the idea. In both schools the principal thinks teachers *definitely should*.

In Community B there is one school where the teachers' mean Response Score for role norm #29 (". . . discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests") is 1.94 and another school where it is 3.69, a difference of 1.75. In the first school only 6 per cent were opposed to the policy (*definitely* or *preferably should not*) while in the other school only 6 per cent were in favor (*definitely* or *preferably should*). In both instances the principal is in favor of the practice.

In Community C the teachers in one school have a mean Response Score of 2.21 for role norm #36 (". . . exercise great caution in expressing views outside of the classroom on controversial issues because of their position"); the teachers in another school have a score of 4.00 for the same item, the difference between the two scores being 1.79. In one school 64 per cent of the teachers approve the "caution" and in the other, 80 per cent disapprove. In the school where teachers so strongly oppose the exercise of "great caution" the principal responded *definitely should* and the principal of the other school responded *may or may not.*

While these examples involve particular norms where the range of scores is among the largest, they show the nature and extent of variations in the views of teachers from school to school with which school adminstrators and the lay public may be confronted.

In some instances the difference between schools is a matter of extent of approval and disapproval. For example, for a given norm the prevailing view of the teachers in one school is between *definitely* and *preferably should* while in another school the prevailing view is between *preferably should* and *may or may not.* In both cases the prevailing view is favorable to the behavior in question but the teachers in one school approve more strongly than the teachers in another school. In other instances the prevailing view of the teachers in one school is favorable (a mean Response Score below 3.00) while that of the teachers in another school is unfavorable (a mean Response Score above 3.00). Such opposing views among teachers from one school to another exist for one third of the role norms in communities A and B and for one half of the role norms in Community C.

Teachers vs. Citizens

A popular assumption is that the views of teachers and citizens differ markedly. However, as shown in Table 15, the extent of difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores of teachers and citizens in each of the three communities is not so large as might have been

TABLE 15

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and Citizens' Own Views, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.41	.41	.52	.23	.39
Community B	.48	.40	.46	.22	.40
Community C	.39	.29	.50	.32	.38

expected. For the total position of elementary school teacher, the mean difference per role norm is .39 for Community A, .40 for Community B, and .38 for Community C. Not only are these mean differences moderate but they are essentially the same for all three communities.

Nevertheless, there is some variation from one role to another and between communities for some of the roles. The least difference between the views of teachers and citizens tends to be for Role 4, indicating that teachers are not confronted with widely divergent views regarding their behavior in the community. Examples are the two role norms having to do with alcohol (Table 16). For role norm #44 ("... serve alcoholic beverages in their own home") the citizens have only slightly higher (and hence more disapproving) scores than the teachers, the difference in mean Response Scores being .16, .15, and .31 respectively for communities A, B, and C. For role norm #45 ("... patronize a cocktail

TABLE 16

Mean Response Scores and Difference in Mean Response Scores Between Teachers and Citizens for Selected Role Norms by Communities

	Teachers' Mean Score	*Citizens' Mean Score*	*Difference*
Role Norm #44: "... serve alcoholic beverages in their own homes"			
Community A	3.03	3.19	.16
Community B	3.27	3.42	.15
Community C	2.79	3.10	.31
Role Norm #45: "... patronize a cocktail lounge"			
Community A	3.27	3.48	.21
Community B	3.54	3.72	.18
Community C	2.94	3.32	.38

lounge") the same pattern exists, the corresponding differences being .21, .18, and .38.

Perhaps unexpected is the finding that it is the citizens in the largest and most urban community whose views differ most from those of the teachers as far as behavior in the wider community is concerned. This is illustrated by the same two role norms regarding alcohol where the differences between the teachers and citizens are twice as high in Community C as in communities A and B. If this finding holds in other communities, it will contradict the traditional assumption that the small community is the most restrictive regarding the private lives of teachers.

For two of the communities, the greatest difference between the views of teachers and citizens is for Role 3 (acting toward parents); there the mean difference in mean Response Scores is .52 for Community A and .50 for Community C. For Community B the difference is .46. However, these mean differences are largely the result of divergent views for two role norms (Table 17). For role norm #29 ("... discuss with parents the

TABLE 17

Mean Response Scores and Difference in Mean Response Scores Between Teachers and Citizens for Selected Role Norms by Communities

	Teachers' Mean Score	*Citizens' Mean Score*	*Difference*
Role Norm #1: "... assign homework regularly"			
Community A	3.33	2.19	1.14
Community B	3.58	2.30	1.28
Community C	2.93	1.86	1.07
Role Norm #8: "... experiment with new teaching techniques"			
Community A	1.49	2.32	.83
Community B	1.51	2.46	.95
Community C	1.44	2.34	.90
Role Norm #29: "... discuss with parents child's scores on achievement tests"			
Community A	3.64	2.19	1.45
Community B	2.86	2.02	.84
Community C	3.40	1.98	1.42
Role Norm #30: "... tell a parent the tested I.Q. of his child"			
Community A	4.45	2.51	1.94
Community B	4.41	2.31	2.10
Community C	4.17	2.45	1.72

child's scores on standardized achievement tests") the mean Response Score for the teachers in Community A is 3.64 and in Community C is 3.40, indicating that teachers believe they should withhold such information from parents. The scores for the citizens in these two communities are 2.19 and 1.98, respectively, indicating that they think teachers should give parents such test information. The resulting difference between the views of teachers and citizens for this norm is 1.45 for Community A and 1.42 for Community C. In Community B the teachers have a mean score of 2.86, resulting from a low level of agreement among themselves; citizens have a score of 2.02. The difference is .84.

For role norm # 30 ("... tell a parent the tested I.Q. of his child") the differences are even greater. The teachers strongly oppose this practice, as shown by mean Response Scores of 4.45, 4.41, and 4.17, respectively. The three populations of citizens think teachers should tell parents the I.Q. test scores of their children and the respective scores are 2.51, 2.31, and 2.45. The resulting differences are 1.94 for Community A, 2.10 for Community B, and 1.72 for Community C. Just as striking as these differences, however, is the similarity of views for both teachers and citizens across the three communities.

Of the remaining roles, the mean difference between the views of teachers and citizens is greater for Role 1 than for Role 2 in communities B and C. In Community A the mean difference is the same for both roles. For Role 1, the two role norms where the difference between the views of teachers and citizens is most marked are #1 ("... assign homework regularly") and #8 (". . . experiment with new teaching techniques"). As to the regular assignment of homework the citizens are more approving than the teachers, the mean Response Scores for the citizens being 2.19, 2.30, and 1.86 for the three communities while the scores for the teachers are 3.33, 3.58, and 2.93. The differences in scores by communities are thus 1.14, 1.28, and 1.07. Differences of this magnitude are a potential source of stress between the two populations.

What is of particular significance again is the consistency of the views and differences between views from one community to another.

Teachers vs. Citizens by Schools

As seen above, there is a relatively wide range of teachers' views regarding their position from one school to another This range was measured in terms of mean differences per role norm between extreme mean Response Scores (Table 14). Accordingly, one would expect some variation in the extent to which the views of teachers, school by school, differ from those of citizens as a whole. Table 18 shows the range of such differences.

TABLE 18

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views, Among Schools, and Citizens' Own Views, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.36	.56	.38	.69	.31	.62
Role 2	.38	.57	.30	.53	.22	.45
Role 3	.42	.65	.40	.73	.25	.96
Role 4	.13	.42	.20	.40	.20	.53
Total Position	.39	.51	.36	.53	.35	.53

There is one school in Community A where the mean difference between the mean Response Scores of the teachers and the citizens of the community for all forty-five role norms is .39 and another school where the mean difference is .51. The corresponding range of mean differences is from .36 to .53 for Community B and .35 to .53 for Community C. Both the range and extent of these differences are similar for all three communities and are less than anticipated in view of the relatively large range of differences in the views of the teachers themselves from school to school. This limited range appears to result because the mean Response Scores of citizens tend to be intermediate between the extreme scores of teachers by schools. In brief, for the position of elementary school teacher as a whole, the extent of differences between teachers' own views and the views of citizens varies little from school to school.

When a similar comparison of responses is made by teacher roles, the extent and range of differences of views tend to be greater, particularly in the case of Role 3. In Community C there is one school where the mean difference per role norm for this role is .25, indicating only a slight difference between the way teachers and citizens think regarding teachers acting toward parents. For another school the mean difference is .96, indicating a somewhat sharp contrast between teacher and citizen views.

Using this latter school as an example, there are several Role-3 norms where the difference is particularly high. The mean Response Score of the teachers for role norm #29 (". . . discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests") is 4.29, 86 per cent having responded either *preferably* or *definitely should not*. The score for citizens is 1.98, 77 per cent having responded either *definitely* or *preferably should*. The difference in mean Response Scores is 2.31, or well over two response categories. A similar difference of views exists for the norm having to do with teachers telling parents the I.Q. scores of their children. For other norms in this role there are differences exceeding 1.00.

The greatest range of differences between the views of teachers by schools and the views of citizens for Community B is also for Role 3; the mean difference is .40 for one school and .75 for another. In Community A it is Role 4 where there is the widest range of differences, .13 for one school and .42 for another. While the extent of these differences does not vary as much as anticipated, there is sufficient variation, particularly at the level of specific roles, to suggest the possibility of variations in teacher-citizen (or parent) relationships. To the extent this is true, the clue to teacher-citizen relationship may be found at the school level rather than the community level.

Teachers vs. Principals

For a number of reasons, one would expect that the views of principals and teachers would be more alike than those of teachers and any of the other populations. As shown in Table 19, the data support this assumption with only a few exceptions.

TABLE 19

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and Principals' Own Views, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.23	.39	.17	.25	.26
Community B	.28	.26	.17	.28	.25
Community C	.28	.35	.27	.11	.25

The mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores of teachers and principals for the total position of elementary school teacher is .26 for Community A, .25 for Community B, and .25 for Community C. Not only are these differences lower than those between teachers and any other population, but they are essentially identical for all three communities.

There are, of course, a few role norms where the differences between teachers and principals are relatively large. Two such role norms (Table 20) are #16 ("... devote time outside of regular teaching duties to school

TABLE 20

Mean Response Scores and Difference in Mean Response Scores Between Teachers and Principals for Role Norm Number 16 and Role Norm Number 23 by Communities

	Teachers' Mean Score	*Principals' Mean Score*	*Difference*
Role Norm #16: "... devote time outside regular teaching duties to school affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional pay"			
Community A	3.39	2.29	1.10
Community B	3.41	3.14	.27
Community C	3.30	2.40	.90
Role Norm #23: "... discuss serious personal problems with the principal"			
Community A	3.18	2.14	1.04
Community B	3.24	2.36	.88
Community C	3.12	2.46	.66

affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional pay") and #23 (". . . discuss serious personal problems with the principal"). Without exception, the principals respond more favorably to both of these role-norm statements than do the teachers; and in some instances, the difference in mean Response Scores exceeds 1.00. Indeed, the prevailing view of the principals is that teachers should do both of these things; and the prevailing view of the teachers is that they should not.

At the same time, there are a number of norms where the views of teachers and principals are identical or nearly so in all three communities. This is the case with role norm #33 (". . . contact parents whenever any problem arises for their children"). The differences between the mean Response Scores of teachers and principals is .05 or less in each community.

More typically, however, there is some variation from one community to another in the extent of difference between the views of teachers and principals for any given role norm. Although not an extreme case, role norm #4 ("... give pupils a great deal of drill practice in the fundamentals") is representative. In all three communities the teachers are more approving than are the principals. But, in Community A, the difference in mean Response Scores is .21, while in communities B and C it is .49 and .53 respectively. Again, if the teachers in one community are more approving of a given form of behavior than are the principals, so probably are the teachers in the other communities, and vice versa.

When the differences between the mean Response Scores of teachers and principals are examined separately by each of the four roles (Table 19), some variation is found both among roles and communities. For example, in Role 3 (acting toward parents) the mean difference between the mean Response Scores of teachers and principals is .17 for communities A and B, but .27 for Community C. Another example is Role 4 (acting toward community) where the mean difference is .11 for Community C, but .25 and .28 for communities A and B, respectively. However, when these examples are examined more closely it is found that these variations in the extent of differences by teacher roles are largely the result of extreme differences for one or two role norms. In the case of Role 3, it is the large difference between the views of teachers and principals in Community C for role norms #31 ("... attend PTA or Parents Club meetings") and # 32 ("... encourage parents to visit the classroom at any time") that raises the mean difference between mean Response Scores above that of the other two communities. If these two norms are deleted, the difference between the communities no longer exists.

As shown above, when the differences of views between teachers and principals are calculated for all 45 role norms there is little variation from one community to another; but when comparisons are made by specific areas of teacher activity or, finally, by individual role norms, variations emerge. Thus, any linkage between size or type of community and extent of agreement between teachers and principals is not general but specific to particular areas or forms of teacher behavior. This means that the particular sources of conflict arising out of differential expectations as between teachers and principals would vary from one community to another.

Teachers vs. Principals by Schools

In the above analysis all comparisons were made between the views of teachers and all principals in each of the three communities. However, a similar analysis at the level of individual schools where the mean Response Score of the teachers in each school is compared with the response of the principal might reflect the amount of agreement more accurately than the comparison of the mean Response Scores of all teachers with the corresponding scores for all principals.

The extent to which the views of teachers correspond to the views of their principal varies markedly from school to school within a school district. Table 21 shows the lowest and highest mean difference per role norm among the several schools in each community. Thus, in Community

TABLE 21

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views, Among Schools, and the Views of the Principal, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.46	1.02	.38	1.15	.43	1.21
Role 2	.41	1.15	.33	1.08	.42	1.41
Role 3	.22	.95	.38	.99	.26	.99
Role 4	.33	1.16	.44	1.00	.21	1.53
Total Position	.49	.93	.54	1.01	.42	1.13

A there is one school where the mean difference per role norm over the entire role-norm inventory is .46 and another school where the difference is 1.02. The corresponding mean differences in Community B are .54 and .93 and in Community C they are .42 and 1.13. In each instance, there is twice as much difference between the views of teachers and their principal in one particular school than in another.

The average difference per role norm between the views of teachers and their principal for all schools is .70 for Community A, .67 for Community B, and .65 for Community C. These differences are much larger than those obtained when the mean Response Scores of all teachers and all principals are compared (Table 19). This is due in part to the use of the actual responses of individual principals rather than mean scores for all principals and in part to variations among the principals. The evidence indicates more difference between teachers and principals at the school level than at the community level and more variation between schools within a community than between communities. Interestingly, the data provide no evidence that the close contact of teachers and principals in each school produces a common view of the role of the teachers.

It is striking that the average level of difference of views between teachers and principals and the range of such differences from school to school are essentially the same for all three communities. Apparently, size and type of community have little effect; thus administrative problems arising out of conflicting views will be much the same from community to community.

Teachers vs. School Board

At the outset there was no way in which the extent of differences of views between teachers and school board members could be anticipated. From the point of view of school board members being informed regarding the operation of the schools and having, so to speak, at least a semiprofessional orientation, one might expect that differences of views would be minimal. Because the composition of school boards at any given moment is somewhat fortuitous, it also might be anticipated that the differences of views between teachers and the school board would vary widely from one community to another. Further, due to the small number of individuals on a school board, it would be reasonable to expect that mean Response Scores would be unstable as a result of atypical views by just one member, thereby maximizing the difference in mean scores.

Table 22 summarizes the differences between teachers' own views and school boards' own views. In view of the possibility of variation from one community to another, as suggested above, it is striking that the mean difference per role norm between the views of teachers and school boards is virtually the same in all three communities. The mean differences of .46 for Community A, .43 for Community B, and .48 for Community C are well above those for teachers and principals (Table 19) and slightly above those for teachers and citizens (Table 13). These data might mean that teachers identify more closely with citizens than with the top administrative units, or that teachers are primarily concerned with the needs of pupils while the school board is more concerned with public relations. In any event, evidence shows that a coherent set of professional standards isn't shared by all school personnel distinct from that of the lay public.

TABLE 22

Mean Differences Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and the School Boards' Own Views, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.49	.46	.45	.42	.46
Community B	.48	.34	.60	.28	.43
Community C	.46	.46	.72	.28	.48

When the role norms for the total position of elementary school teacher are broken down by the four roles, there is a limited amount of variation from role to role and from community to community in the over-all extent of difference between the views of teachers and the school boards. This is particularly true for Role 1 and Role 2. The major exceptions to this pattern are found in Role 3 and Role 4.

The relatively major difference between the views of teachers and school boards for Role 3 is largely due to a very large difference in regard to three of the role norms for this role, particularly in the case of Community C. Table 23 shows the mean Response Scores for the teachers and for the school boards, and the difference between the scores for role norms #28, #29, and #30. In most instances the difference in mean scores exceeds 1.00. It is to be recalled that there is also a wide difference between teachers and citizens for role norms #29 and #30 (Table 17). A comparison of Tables 9 and 15 shows that the views of the school boards are more similar to those of the citizens than those of teachers when it comes to telling parents the results of test scores.

TABLE 23

Mean Response Scores and Difference in Mean Response Scores Between Teachers' Own Views and School Boards' Own Views for Selected Role Norms by Communities

	Teachers' Mean Score	*School Boards' Mean Score*	*Difference*
Role Norm #28: "... visit every pupil's home at the beginning of the school year"			
Community A	3.12	4.00	.88
Community B	3.72	4.00	.28
Community C	3.19	1.75	1.44
Role Norm #29: "... discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests"			
Community A	3.64	2.60	1.04
Community B	2.86	1.42	1.44
Community C	3.40	2.00	1.40
Role Norm #30: "... tell a parent the tested I.Q. of his child"			
Community A	4.45	3.40	1.05
Community B	4.41	2.86	1.55
Community C	4.17	2.75	1.42

As regards Role 4, the mean difference in Community A is .42 as compared to .28 in both Community B and Community C. Seemingly, teacher behavior in the wider community is not so much an issue in the larger community as in the smaller communities.

Teachers vs. School Boards by Schools

As with citizens and principals, the fact there is some variation of teachers' views from school to school means that the extent of differences between teachers and the school board also should vary from school to school. The extent of this variation is summarized in Table 24. For the total position of elementary school teacher, there is one school in both Community A and Community C where the mean difference between the mean Response Scores of teachers and the school board is .42. In both communities there is another school where the mean difference is .59. For Community B the corresponding mean differences are .39 and .55.

TABLE 24

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views, Among Schools, and the School Boards' Own Views, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.42	.65	.41	.64	.39	.88
Role 2	.39	.72	.27	.47	.33	.68
Role 3	.36	.64	.41	.89	.54	.85
Role 4	.35	.58	.20	.49	.21	.45
Total Position	.42	.59	.39	.55	.42	.59

When these comparisons are made by each of the four teacher roles, the variation in extent of difference from one school to another is even greater. For example, in Community A there is one school where the mean difference for Role 2 is .39 and another school where the difference is .72. In Community B, for Role 3, there is one school where the mean difference is .41 and another school where the mean difference is .89. For Community C the corresponding mean differences in the case of Role 1 are .39 and .88. In most instances the greatest difference is approximately twice that of the lowest difference.

When responses to individual role norms are examined, a wide variation is found. For example, the mean Response Score for the school board in Community A for role norm #6 (". . . give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students") is 4.40 or definitely opposed. The mean score for the teachers in one school is 4.35 or only .05 different than the school board. But in another school the mean score for the teachers is 3.15 or 1.25 different. Differences of this order can be the source of stress between the teachers of a given school and the school board.

In Community B the mean Response Score for the school board for the role norm having to do with teachers telling parents the standardized achievement test score of their child is 1.42 or between *definitely should* and *preferably should*. Teachers in one school have a mean score of 1.94 (*preferably should*), but the teachers in another school have a score of 3.41 or between *may or may not* and *preferably should not*. This is another example of potential conflict between teachers and the school board being school linked.

In Community C the teachers in one school have a mean Response Score of 4.20 for the norm regarding the making of personal telephone calls while at school and thus oppose the practice. Teachers in another school are permissive with a score of 2.90. The school board is opposed with a score of 4.25. In one school then, most teachers and the school board have the same view; but in another school most teachers have opposing views. Variations of this extent from school to school easily could be the source of variation in amount of confidence between the two populations.

Teachers vs. Superintendent

Table 25 shows the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores of all teachers in each community and the responses of the respective superintendents. These mean differences are .60 for Community A, .60 for Community B, and .76 for Community C. Thus, in all three communities the differences of views regarding the role of teacher are greater between the teachers and the superintendent than between the teachers and any of the other populations as reported in Tables 13, 18, and 21 above. Furthermore, the extent of differences tends to be similar despite differences of the communities themselves.

TABLE 25

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Score for Teachers' Own Views and the Superintendent's Own Views, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.70	.70	.51	.43	.60
Community B	.46	.54	.90	.59	.60
Community C	.69	1.02	.52	.86	.76

However, there is some variation in the extent of differences by individual roles. In Community A the greatest differences are for Roles 1 and 2. In Community B the greatest difference is for Role 3. In Community C the difference is markedly greater for Role 2 and appreciably greater for Role 4. These variations reflect the differences among the superintendents themselves as reported in Table 13.

It is to be noted that the scores representing the response of the superintendent are not mean scores; thus, they do not involve a regression toward a mean as was the case for the other populations. As a consequence, the differences between the responses of teachers and superintendents will be increased somewhat in comparison with the differences between teachers and the other populations. It is not known how much the greater difference between teachers and the superintendents, as compared with the difference between teachers and the other populations, is a function of this fact. However, available evidence shows that only a portion of the greater difference can be so explained.

Thus, as in the case of the school board, it appears that the teachers identify more closely with citizens than with the superintendent and that there is not a set of professional standards shared by all school personnel independently of the lay public.

The extent to which the prevailing view among all teachers can differ from the view of the superintendent can be illustrated with specific role-norm statements. In Community A the mean Response Score of the teachers for role norm #27 (". . . insist that parents contact them at school rather than at home") is 2.14, over two-thirds having responded either *definitely* or *preferably should.* The response of the superintendent is *preferably should not* (4.00), making a difference of 1.86. In Community B the mean score for the teachers for role norm #29 (". . . discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests") is 2.86, making the prevailing view near *may or may not.* The view of the superintendent is that teachers *definitely should* (1.00). Again the difference is 1.86. In Community C the teachers are opposed to devoting time outside of regular teaching duties . . . without additional compensation (role norm #16). The score is 3.30, with less than one quarter of the teachers approving and nearly 50 per cent disapproving. The superintendent thinks teachers *definitely should,* making a difference of 2.30.

Even though there is a general consistency from one community to another as to the role norms where the teachers and the superintendent agree or disagree, there are a number of norms where the teachers and superintendent in one community will be in essential agreement while in another community they will differ markedly. This is due to the relatively high variation in the views of the three superintendents for certain role norms rather than a variation in the views of the three populations of teachers.

Teachers vs. Superintendent by Schools

The amount of variation from school to school in the extent of difference between teachers' views and the views of the superintendents is even greater than that between teachers and the school board. The range of differences from one school to another by roles and total position for each community is shown in Table 26. In Community A there is one school where the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Score of the teachers and the superintendent is .58 and another school where the mean difference is .81. In Community B the corresponding differences are .38 and .70, and in Community C the differences are .71 and .93. Given variations of this extent from school to school, one might expect a corresponding variation in the extent to which teachers feel comfortable with the policies and actions of the central office.

TABLE 26

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views, Among Schools, and the Response of the Superintendent, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.64	.93	.33	.73	.54	.90
Role 2	.59	1.06	.46	.67	.84	1.24
Role 3	.42	.69	.71	1.07	.51	.77
Role 4	.36	.62	.51	.76	.77	1.11
Total Position	.58	.81	.38	.70	.71	.93

The range of differences of views from school to school between teachers' views and those of the superintendent varies somewhat from one role to another and tends to be greater for Role 1 and Role 2. For example, there is one school in Community B where the mean difference per role norm between the views of teachers and the views of the superintendent for Role 1 is .33; another school has a corresponding difference of .73. In the one school the teachers and the superintendent have similar views regarding teachers acting toward pupils. But in the other school, there is a fairly consistent difference. One can only speculate regarding the consequence for the teachers.

The variation from school to school in the extent of agreement between teachers and the superintendent can be seen even more clearly when responses to specific role norms are examined. While for many norms there is little or no difference, there are a few norms where the differences are large.

In Community A the superintendent responded *preferably should* (2.00) to role norm #9 ("... permit each pupil to follow his own educational interests most of the time"). In one school the mean Response Score for the teachers is 4.11 (*preferably should not*) and none of the teachers responded in either of the *should* categories. The difference between the teachers and the superintendent is 2.14, or over two response categories. They are on opposite sides of the fence. In another school the score for the teachers is 2.75, 50 per cent of the teachers responding in one of the two favorable categories. The difference of .75 is less than one response category.

In Community B the superintendent is opposed to giving pupils a great deal of drill practice (#4) and responded *preferably should not* (4.00). In one school the teachers favor the practice, having a mean score of 2.13. Two-thirds of the teachers responded in one of the favorable categories. The difference between the teachers and the superintendent is 1.87, and the views are again opposing. But in another school the mean score of the teachers is 3.55, with only 9 per cent of the teachers approving and nearly 50 per cent disapproving. The difference between the two scores is .45 and represents only a limited difference in degree of disapproval.

In Community C the superintendent responded *preferably should not* (4.00) to the role norm regarding a stricter standard of conduct for teachers (#41). In one school 90 per cent of the teachers responded in one of the two favorable categories, and the mean score is 1.78. The difference of 2.22 is well over two response categories and represents a distinct contrast of views. In another school half of the teachers responded in one of the two *should not* categories, and the mean score is 3.52 or only slightly less disapproving than the superintendent.

V

Perceptions of the Views of Others

As indicated at the outset, consensus involves something more than unilateral agreement among individuals or populations of individuals. It also involves the awareness of such agreement as evidenced by ability to perceive accurately the views of relevant others.

Chapter IV was devoted to unilateral agreement among teachers and a number of populations of relevant others regarding appropriate behavior for elementary school teachers. In this chapter attention will be focused on the ability of teachers to perceive the views of each of the other populations and the ability of each of the other populations to perceive the views of teachers.

As for the data reported in the preceding chapters, a number of basic patterns were found and are stated here briefly before turning to a more detailed analysis of the findings:

1. The amount of difference between teachers' own views and what they believe to be the views of each of the other populations is relatively low

in the case of the principals, intermediate in the case of the school boards and the superintendents, and greatest in the case of the citizens. This pattern holds consistently for all three communities.

2. The amount of difference between teachers' own views and what they think are the views of others (perceived difference) is greater than the actual difference in the case of the citizens, and less than the actual difference in the case of the principals, the school board, and the superintendent. This pattern is consistent from one community to another.

3. There is a wide variation from school to school within communities in the amount of difference perceived by teachers between their own views and the views of each of the populations of others.

4. When perceiving the views of others, the teachers are most accurate in the case of the principals, less accurate in the case of the school board, and least accurate in the case of the superintendent. This pattern is consistent from one community to another.

5. There is a wide variation from school to school within communities as to the accuracy of teachers' perceptions of the views of each of the populations of others.

6. The amount of difference between the views held by each of the populations of others and their perceptions of the views of teachers (perceived difference) is least in the case of the citizens and somewhat greater in the case of the principals. In Community A the school board and the superintendent see approximately the same amount of difference as do the principals, but in Community C they see a very much larger difference.

7. In both Community A and Community C the citizens perceive less difference than actually exists and the principals perceive the same amount of difference as actually exists. Both the school board and the superintendent in Community A perceive less difference than actually exists, but in Community C they see appreciably more difference.

8. In both Community A and Community C the principals are the most accurate in their perceptions of the views of teachers, the citizens are next accurate, and the school board and superintendent are the least accurate.

9. As with teachers, both the amount of perceived difference of views by the principals and the accuracy of their perceptions vary widely from school to school within communities.

Teachers' Perceptions of Citizens' Views

It was anticipated that teachers would expect citizens to have views somewhat different than their own. The hypothesis was based on a general observation that teachers see citizens as being non-professional and generally untrained in the field of education. Further, it appears that many teachers see citizens as somehow being dissatisfied with teacher behavior.

Table 27 shows the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores of teachers when they report their own views and when they report how they think most citizens would respond. These differences may be regarded as the correction teachers make of their own views to arrive at the views of citizens. The mean difference per role norm between the two measures for the total position of teacher is .53 for Community A, .45 for Community B, and .50 for Community C.

TABLE 27

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of Citizens, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.87	.45	.77	.50	.53
Community B	.49	.36	.50	.46	.45
Community C	.73	.33	.71	.51	.50

The largest differences between teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of citizens are for Role 1 and Role 3, especially in the case of Community A and Community C. Thus the teachers see citizens as holding views distinctly different from their own in regard to their acting toward pupils and toward parents.

Table 28 shows the extent to which teachers expect citizens' views to differ from their own for three role norms. Although extreme, these cases illustrate the extent to which teachers can see their views as different from those of the lay population. The differences in mean Response Scores range from one to almost two full response categories and are essentially the same in all three communities.

There are other role norms where the teachers think the responses of the citizens will be the same as their own. For those norms pertaining to teachers permitting pupils to follow their own educational interests most of the time, teachers discussing serious personal problems with the principal, and teachers attending church regularly, the teachers think citizen views are the same as their own. For all three communities the differences in mean scores are zero or near zero.

TABLE 28

Difference of Mean Response Scores Between Teachers' Own Views and Teachers' Perceptions of Citizens' Views for Selected Role Norms by Communities

	Teachers' Own Views	Teachers' Perceptions Citizens' Views	Difference
#30 "... tell a parent the tested I.Q. of his child"			
Community A	4.45	2.68	1.77
Community B	4.41	3.07	1.34
Community C	4.17	2.45	1.72
#7 "... use extra academic work as one form of punishment"			
Community A	4.52	3.56	.96
Community B	4.39	3.39	1.00
Community C	4.30	3.09	1.21
#21 "... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time"			
Community A	1.73	3.27	1.54
Community B	1.79	2.96	1.17
Community C	2.30	3.39	1.09

A comparison of Table 27 with Table 15 shows that the teachers perceive more difference between their own views and those of the citizens than is actually the case, particularly for communities A and C and for Roles 1 and 3. Stated otherwise, the views of citizens are more like those of the teachers than the teachers are aware. Also, it is striking that there is no apparent relationship between size and type of community and the amount of difference perceived by teachers.

Assuming that teachers are in a position to be particularly knowledgeable regarding the views of the lay public, it was anticipated that they would be relatively accurate in their perceptions of the views of citizens. The extent of this accuracy is measured in terms of the mean difference per role norm between the response scores for teachers' perceptions of the views of citizens and the actual views of citizens. These differences are shown in Table 29.

Despite the fact the teachers "corrected" their own views to arrive at what they think are the views of the citizens, the amount of error is relatively high and approximately the same as the actual difference between the two populations.

As indicated, the teachers have an over-all tendency to see more difference between their views and those of the citizens than is actually the case, particularly for Role 4. This occurs for approximately one-half of the

TABLE 29

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of Citizens and for the Actual Views of Citizens, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.43	.32	.48	.50	.43
Community B	.42	.25	.38	.26	.34
Community C	.35	.29	.37	.21	.31

role norms in each of the communities. It is this over-prediction of differences that in a large measure accounts for the error rate in perception.

An example of this tendency to see more difference than there is is provided by role norm # 34 ("... attempt to find out what, in the home situation, may contribute to the misbehavior of a pupil"). In all three communities the teachers think the citizens are much less approving of the practice than themselves (Table 30). In Community A the mean Response

TABLE 30

Extent and Direction of Error by Citizens, in Terms of Mean Response Scores, in Perceptions of the Views of Citizens for Selected Role Norms by Communities

	Teachers' Own Views	*Teachers' Perceptions Citizens' Views*	*Citizens' Actual Views*	*Error in Perception*
#1 "... assign homework regularly"				
Community A	3.33	3.19	2.19	1.00
Community B	3.58	3.01	2.30	.71
Community C	2.93	2.34	1.86	.48
#6 "... give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students"				
Community A	3.75	3.38	4.30	.92
Community B	3.97	3.36	4.32	.96
Community C	4.08	3.38	4.24	.86
#34 "... attempt to find out what, in the home situation, may contribute to the misbehavior of a pupil"				
Community A	1.50	2.87	1.80	1.07
Community B	1.45	2.19	1.73	.46
Community C	1.39	2.49	1.74	.75

Score is 1.50 for teachers' own views, 2.87 for their perceptions of the views of citizens, and 1.80 for citizens' own views. Ninety-five per cent of the teachers responded either *definitely* or *preferably should* for their own views, while only 41 per cent thought the citizens would respond similarly. However, 83 per cent of the citizens approve. In Community B the mean Response Scores are 1.45 for teachers' own views, 2.19 for their perceptions of citizens' views, and 1.73 for citizens' own views. Ninety-seven per cent of the teachers responded either *definitely* or *preferably should* and 68 per cent of the citizens approve. In Community C the pattern is the same. The mean scores are 1.39 for teachers' own views, 2.49 for teachers' perceptions of citizens' views, and 1.74 for citizens' own views. The *definitely* or *preferably should* responses are 98, 56 and 86 per cent, respectively. Apparently there is a cultural pattern whereby teachers think citizens are less enthusiastic about teachers "invading" the home than is actually true. The teachers are correct in judging that citizens are less enthusiastic than themselves but they go too far.

Another pattern found for approximately one-third of the role norms involves teachers predicting in the correct direction but underestimating the amount of difference. This occurred, for instance, in the case of role norm #1 (". . . assign homework regularly"). In all three communities the teachers knew that the citizens were more approving of the practice than themselves but they do not realize the extent of the greater approval (Table 30).

For a majority of the role norms, the teachers are aware of the direction in which citizens' views differ from their own. In a few instances, however, their perceptions are in the wrong direction. This happened in the case of role norm #6 (". . . give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students") in each of the three communities (Table 30). For communities A, B, and C, respectively, the mean scores are 3.75, 3.97, and 4.08 for teachers' own views; 3.38, 3.36, and 3.38 for teachers' perceptions of citizens' views; and 4.30, 4.32, and 4.24 for citizens' own views. For each community in turn, 64, 73, and 80 per cent of the teachers are opposed (*definitely* or *preferably should not*) and 54, 51, and 52 per cent believe the citizens are opposed. The teachers think the citizens are less opposed than themselves whereas the citizens are more opposed.

For two-thirds of the role norms in each of the communities, the views of the citizens are more like those of the teachers than the teachers are aware. These patterns appear to be independent of the size and type of community.

Teachers' Perceptions of Citizens' Views by Schools

Just as teachers' own views regarding their position vary from one school to another, so do their perceptions of the views of citizens. As a consequence, the teachers in some schools see decidedly more difference between their own views and the views of citizens than do teachers in other schools. Table 31 shows the range, from school to school, of the extent to which teachers see such differences.

TABLE 31
Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between Teachers' Own Views and Their Perceptions of the Views of Citizens, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Differences					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.31	.60	.40	.78	.31	.76
Role 2	.38	.80	.27	.59	.26	.56
Role 3	.49	1.10	.33	.82	.49	.97
Role 4	.37	.96	.17	.69	.26	.84
Total Position	.42	.83	.39	.65	.39	.75

As shown, there is one school in Community A where the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores for teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of citizens, for the total position, is .42 and another school where the mean difference is .83. The corresponding range for Community B and Community C teachers is from .39 to .65 and from .39 to .75, respectively. If this same analysis is made separately for each of the four roles, the ranges of perceived differences are even greater, particularly for Roles 3 and 4. The teachers in some schools see approximately twice as much difference between their own views and those of the citizens than do the teachers in other schools. It is to be noted particularly that the range of perceived differences is similar for all three communities, suggesting that the broad characteristics of a community have little effect.

When the perceived differences of teachers are examined for individual role norms, extremely wide ranges are found in some instances. One example is provided by the responses of Community A teachers to role norm #16 ("... devote time outside of regular teaching duties to school affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional pay"). In one school the mean Response Score for the teachers is 3.31 when reporting their own views and 2.69 when reporting their perceptions of the views of citizens. The difference is .62. In another school the corresponding mean scores for the teachers are 4.29 and 2.00, making a difference of 2.29. In the first school the two sets of views are sufficiently close so as not to be a source of stress in the minds of the teachers. In the second school the teachers are unqualifiedly opposed and see the citizens as being rather strongly in favor. These teachers may well see potential conflict.

Another example is provided by the response of Community B teachers to role norm #30 (". . . tell a parent the tested I.Q. of his child). In one school the mean Response Scores are 3.56 for the teachers' own views and 3.33 for their perceptions of citizens' views. The difference is only .23, and both scores represent a prevailing view between *may or may not* and *preferably should not.* Certainly the teachers can see little basis for conflict with citizens. In another school the views of the teachers themselves are represented by a mean score of 4.82 and their perceptions of citizens' views by a mean score of 2.64. The difference is 2.18. In this case the teachers are overwhelmingly opposed but see the citizens as approving for the most part. When a difference of this extent is perceived, the teachers may well believe there is opposition to their way of doing things. In short, teachers in one school may feel at ease and teachers at another school uneasy as a result of differential perceptions of differences of views.

Given the variation from school to school, both in teachers' own views and in the way teachers perceive the views of citizens, it follows that there will be a range in the accuracy of teacher perceptions. These data are shown in Table 32. For the total position there is one school in Community A where the mean difference per role norm (error rate) between teachers' perceptions of the views of citizens and citizens' actual views

TABLE 32
Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of Citizens and Citizens' Own Views, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.35	.59	.31	.58	.32	.56
Role 2	.23	.48	.21	.52	.23	.46
Role 3	.42	.72	.22	.53	.32	.59
Role 4	.23	.64	.12	.48	.08	.48
Total Position	.36	.57	.32	.47	.30	.49

is .36 and another school where the difference is .57. The corresponding range in extent of mean error is from .32 to .47 for Community B and from .30 to .49 for Community C. These ranges are slightly less than those found when teachers' own views are compared with their perceptions of citizens' views (Table 31) and similar to those found when teachers' own views are compared with citizens' own views (Table 18).

Typically, the teachers in a given school have more difficulty in perceiving accurately the views of citizens for one role than for the others. Consequently, the ranges of error tend to be higher when broken down by roles. This is particularly true for Role 4 where the ranges are from .23 to .64 for Community A, from .12 to .48 for Community B, and from .08 to .48 for Community C.

The extent to which teachers may vary from one school to another in their ability to perceive the views of "most citizens" can be illustrated by responses to individual role norms. In Community A the mean score for citizens' own views regarding role norm #6 ("... give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students") is 4.30 or rather strongly opposed. The mean score when the teachers of one school attempt to predict the views of citizens is 4.50. These teachers are fairly accurate, the difference being .20. The teachers in another school have a mean score of 2.80 when predicting citizens' views. The error is 1.50. These teachers think most citizens would favor the practice, whereas most disapprove. A similar range of error from one school to another for this role norm exists in the two other communities (from .32 to 1.24 in Community B and from .18 to 1.43 in Community C). A comparable range of error in all three communities also exists for such other norms as those pertaining to assigning homework regularly; encouraging pupils to discuss various religious beliefs in the classroom; encouraging pupils to question the opinions held by the teacher; devoting time outside of regular teaching duties to such school affairs as curriculum planning, without pay; and accepting the judgment of parents when there is disagreement about the needs of the child. For other norms there is a similar wide range in at least one of the communities. However, there are some norms where the teachers in all schools are accurate in their perceptions and the range of error is low.

This tendency for a relatively wide range from school to school in teachers' awareness of the views of the lay population may be significant in that it suggests that sources of stress between the school system and the wider community are school specific rather than district specific. This suggests, in turn, that efforts to deal with stress should focus on the individual school rather than the system as a whole.

Citizens' Perceptions of Teachers' Views

In the original study of Community B the citizens were not asked to give their perceptions of the views of the teachers. This dimension was added to the research design for communities A and C. Therefore, an analysis of the ability of the citizen population to perceive the views of "most teachers" is limited to two communities. However, because the two communities are the most different in size and type, the comparison should be meaningful.

Although it was anticipated that the citizens would expect teachers' views to differ significantly from their own, the data do not support this expectation.

Table 33 shows the mean difference per role norm between the mean scores when citizens report their own views and when they report their perceptions of the views of teachers. The differences, .23 for Community A and .22 for Community C, are less than one-half those for teachers when perceiving the views of citizens (Table 27). Apparently, there is much more of a tendency for citizens to think teachers' views are the same as their own than there is for teachers to think citizens' views are like their own.

TABLE 33

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Citizens' Own Views and for Citizens' Perceptions of the Views of Teachers by Roles and Total Position, for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.24	.26	.31	.12	.23
Community C	.23	.25	.33	.09	.22

This surprising finding contradicts the popular assumption that citizens think teachers have ideas of their own apart from the wider community. Although a full explanation of the finding is not possible at this point, one factor may be the difficulty that some citizens have in mentally constructing an image of another population. This is suggested by the fact that a number of lay subjects in Community C with a low education were unable to carry out the mental operations required to report their perceptions of the views of teachers. Unable to engage in this kind of abstract conceptualization, they can report only their own views. This partial explanation is given some support by the fact it is in regard to Role 3 (acting toward parents) that the citizens see the most difference between their own views and those of teachers. Here is an area where they have the most concrete experience to draw upon. On the other hand, the citizens see very little difference of view regarding teacher behavior in the wider community. Thus, it is not possible to be certain as to the extent citizens actually believe teachers' views are similar to their own and the extent to which they are unable to conceptualize the difference.

Table 34 provides examples of norms where the citizens see the most difference between their own views and those of teachers. The differences shown are only a fraction of the corresponding differences perceived by teachers as shown in Table 28. For role norm #30 the teachers in Commuity A perceive a difference of 1.77, but the citizens see a difference of only .49. The corresponding differences for Community C are 1.72 and .48.

TABLE 34
Differences Between Mean Response Scores for Citizens' Own Views and Citizens' Perceptions of the Views of Teachers for Selected Role Norms by Communities

Role Norms	*Citizens' Own Views*	*Citizens' Perceptions Teachers' Views*	*Differences*
#15 "... encourage pupils to question the opinions held by the teacher"			
Community A	2.54	3.20	.66
Community C	2.70	3.35	.65
#29 ... discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests"			
Community A	2.19	2.73	.54
Community C	1.98	2.44	.46
#30 "... tell a parent the tested I.Q. of his child"			
Community A	2.51	3.00	.49
Community C	2.45	2.93	.48

There is a relatively large number of norms where the citizens in both communities see little or no difference between themselves and the teachers. Typical of such norms are those pertaining to teachers depriving pupils of privileges as one form of punishment, permitting each pupil to follow his own educational interests most of the time, devoting most of their time to working with individual pupils or small groups, discussing freely with parents the weaknesses of other teachers, making political speeches, and patronizing a cocktail lounge.

There is no evidence that size of community has any effect on the extent to which citizens see differences between their own views and those of teachers. The two communities are almost identical, thus negating any assumptions that might be derived from the *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* typology.

Not only do the citizens see little difference, on the average, between their own views and those of teachers; they see only about half as much difference as there actually is (Tables 15 and 33). The teachers overestimate the difference, and the citizens underestimate the difference. The result is that the error rate by the citizens (Table 35) is similar to that by the teachers (Table 29).

TABLE 35

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Citizens' Perceptions of the Views of Teachers and for the Actual Views of Teachers, by Roles and Total Position, for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.41	.40	.56	.21	.40
Community C	.45	.24	.54	.24	.38

The citizens have the most difficulty in perceiving the views of teachers regarding Role 3, the error rate per role norm being .56 for Community A and .54 for Community C. This result is somewhat strange because citizens assumedly have the greatest opportunity to observe teachers in this situation. And interestingly, citizens in the small community have as much difficulty as the citizens in the large community.

Citizens are much more accurate in their perceptions of the views of teachers for Role 4, the error rates being approximately one-half of those for Role 3. For the other two roles, the error rates are intermediate with the exception of Role 2 in Community C.

A comparison of Tables 35 and 15 shows that the accuracy of citizens' perceptions of teachers' views is related to the amount of actual difference between the views of the two populations. When there is little difference of views, as in the case of Role 4, the citizens are relatively accurate in their perceptions. When there is a larger difference, as in the case of Role 3, the citizens are relatively inaccurate.

This difficulty experienced by citizens in perceiving the views of teachers is illustrated by the three role norms shown in Table 36.

TABLE 36

Extent and Direction of Error by Citizens, in Terms of Response Scores in Their Perceptions of Teachers' Views for Selected Role Norms by Communities

Role Norms	*Citizens' Own Views*	*Citizens' Perceptions Teachers' Views*	*Teachers' Own Views*	*Error in Perception*
#1 "... assign homework regularly"				
Community A	2.19	2.13	3.33	1.20
Community B	1.86	2.05	2.93	.88
#7 "... use extra academic work as one form of punishment"				
Community A	3.64	3.13	4.52	1.39
Community C	3.49	3.03	4.30	1.27
#24 "... join a teacher organization affiliated with a labor union"				
Community A	3.52	3.16	4.27	1.11
Community C	3.31	3.13	3.86	.73

In the case of the role norm #1 ("... assign homework regularly"), the citizens in both communities favor the practice, the mean Response Scores being 2.19 and 1.86. In both communities the citizens think the teachers' views are similar to their own, the mean scores for their perceptions of teachers' views being 2.13 and 2.05. However, in both communities the teachers' own views are definitely less favorable than those of the citizens and the resulting error in perception is 1.20 for Community A and .88 for Community C. Sixty-seven per cent of the citizens in Community A predicted that the teachers would respond either *definitely* or *preferably should* but only 12 per cent did so. In Community C the corresponding percentages are 71 and 26. The high error for Community A citizens is partly due to the fact they thought the teachers would be more favorable than themselves, whereas they are less favorable. The citizens predicted in the wrong direction as compared to their own views.

Regarding the use of extra academic work as one form of punishment, the prevailing view of the citizens in both communities is somewhat opposed, the mean scores being 3.64 and 3.49. In both instances the citizens assume the teachers are more approving than themselves, the mean scores for their perceptions being 3.13 and 3.03. But the teachers are strongly opposed, as evidenced by mean scores of 4.52 and 4.30. Only 38 per cent of Community A citizens predicted that most teachers would respond *preferably* or *definitely should not* while 88 per cent did so. In Community C the matching percentages are 37 and 81. Both populations of citizens predicted in the wrong direction from their own views, and the resulting error, 1.39 and 1.27, is high.

The same pattern exists for role norm # 24 ("... join a teacher organization affiliated with a labor union"). The citizens tend to disapprove. They think the teachers are slightly less disapproving, although the teachers actually are much more disapproving. Again, the citizens predict in the wrong direction. Given misperceptions of the nature and extent such as those reported, one can speculate that such lack of awareness can be a source of misunderstandings and stress.

The number of role norms where the citizens predicted in the wrong direction is sixteen for Community A and twenty-one for Community C.

There is a marked similarity between the two populations of citizens, both in their perceptions of teachers' views and in the direction and extent of error in their perceptions. Anticipated differences between the two populations do not exist.

Teachers' Perceptions of Principals' Views

There are a number of reasons why one would expect that teachers would see little difference, on the average, between their own views and those of principals. Many principals have been teachers, they are in close working relationships with teachers, and they are confronted with closely related problems. Further, the actual differences between the two populations is moderate (Table 19) and unless teachers were to misperceive seriously the views of principals, the perceived differences should be low. Thus, it is of little surprise to find that in all three communities the teachers think the views of the principals are more like their own than are the views of any of the other populations. The over-all mean difference per role norm between teachers' own views and their perception of the views of principals is .19 for Community A, .20 for Community B, and .21 for Community C (Table 37).

While the amount of difference perceived by the teachers varies little from one role to another, or even from one role norm to another, there is a tendency, particularly for Community A and Community B teachers, to see less difference for Role 3 and for Community B and Community C teachers to see more difference for Role 1.

TABLE 37

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of Principals, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.20	.18	.14	.23	.19
Community B	.28	.18	.12	.22	.20
Community C	.28	.19	.18	.16	.21

Table 38 shows the mean Response Scores for teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of principals for those role norms where there is the greatest perceived difference. While the perceived differences are not excessive, it is of particular interest that the three populations of teachers are alike, for each of the three role norms, as to whether they think the principals are more or less approving than themselves. Seem-

TABLE 38

Differences Between Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and Their Perceptions of the Views of Principals for Selected Role Norms by Communities

Role Norms	*Teachers' Own Views*	*Teachers' Perceptions Principals' Views*	*Difference*
#15 "... encourage pupils to question opinions held by the teacher"			
Community A	2.40	2.99	.59
Community B	2.60	3.23	.63
Community C	2.52	3.23	.71
#16 "... devote time outside of regular teaching duties to school affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional pay"			
Community A	3.39	2.93	.46
Community B	3.41	2.94	.47
Community C	3.30	2.62	.68
#21 "... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time"			
Community A	1.73	2.18	.45
Community B	1.79	2.18	1.39
Community C	2.30	2.94	1.64

ingly there is a cultural patterning of responses unaffected by differences between the communities or school systems themselves.

Because there is relatively little difference between the actual views of teachers and principals, and because the teachers perceive little difference, it should follow that teachers' perceptions of the views of principals are relatively accurate. Table 39, showing the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores for teachers' perceptions of the views of principals and for principals' actual views, supports this inference. The average difference per role norm (error rate) for the entire position is .24, .30, and .22 for each of the populations of teachers in turn.

TABLE 39

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of Principals and for Principals' Own Views, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.25	.31	.18	.20	.24
Community B	.37	.17	.17	.44	.30
Community C	.28	.21	.31	.08	.22

When the mean error rate is established for each of the teacher roles, there is some variation from one community to another. For example, Community A teachers are least accurate (.31) in their perceptions of the principals' views for those norms pertaining to teachers acting toward colleagues and most accurate (.18) for those norms regarding teachers acting toward parents. Community B teachers are least accurate (.44) regarding teachers acting toward the community and the most accurate (.17) regarding teachers acting toward colleagues and toward parents. Community C teachers are least accurate (.31) when it comes to teachers acting toward parents and most accurate (.08) as regards teachers acting toward the community. There is no immediate explanation for these variations. However, it would appear that there is no consistent relation between size and type of community and the area in which teachers are most able or least able to perceive the views of the principals.

Even though the average amount of error on the part of teachers when they attempt to predict the views of principals is relatively low, there are a few role norms where the error is relatively high. Examples of such instances are shown in Table 40. In the case of role norm #7 the teachers in each of the communities think the principals are less opposed than

TABLE 40

Extent and Direction of Error by Teachers, in Terms of Mean Response Scores, in Their Perceptions of the Views of Principals for Selected Role Norms by Communities

		Teachers' Own Views	*Teachers' Perceptions Principals' Views*	*Principals' Actual Views*	*Error in Perception*
#7	"... use extra academic work as one form of punishment"				
	Community A	4.52	4.18	4.79	.61
	Community B	4.39	4.12	4.59	.47
	Community C	4.30	3.98	4.60	.62
#15	"... encourage pupils to question the opinions held by the teacher"				
	Community A	2.40	2.99	2.36	.63
	Community B	2.60	3.23	2.27	.96
	Community C	2.52	3.23	2.49	.74
#23	"... discuss serious personal problems with the principal"				
	Community A	3.18	2.98	2.14	.84
	Community B	3.24	3.10	2.36	.74
	Community C	3.12	3.04	2.46	.58

themselves to using extra academic work as one form of punishment, whereas the principals are more opposed. Thus, as compared to their own views, the teachers predicted differences in the wrong direction. For role norm #15 each of the three populations of teachers thinks the principals are less in favor of encouraging pupils to question the opinions held by the teacher, but in each instance the principals are even more in favor than are the teachers. Again, the teachers predicted in the wrong direction.

Teachers' Perceptions of Principals' Views by Schools

As was the case with teachers' perceptions of the views of citizens, when an analysis is made at the individual school level marked differences between teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of their principal appear. The extent to which schools vary as to the amount of difference teachers see between their own views and the views of their principal, by roles and by total position, is shown in Table 41.

In Community A there is one school where the mean difference as perceived by the teachers over the entire role norm inventory is .17 and another school where the mean difference is .47. The corresponding mean

TABLE 41

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of Their Principal, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.19	.45	.21	.57	.16	.80
Role 2	.13	.52	.16	.40	.19	.57
Role 3	.13	.39	.11	.33	.14	.52
Role 4	.15	.66	.16	.52	.12	.65
Total Position	.17	.46	.21	.42	.19	.56

differences for Community B are .21 and .42. For Community C the range is from .19 to .56. When the mean perceived differences are calculated by each of the four roles the range is even greater. For example, in Community C there is one school where the teachers see very little difference between their own views and those of their principal as regards teachers' behavior toward pupils. The mean difference for the fifteen role norms in Role 1 is .16, but for another school the mean difference is .80. For this same role the range of perceived differences is also large for Community B, being from .21 to .57. For both of these communities, then, there are schools where the teachers are working in a situation where they believe the views of the principal are not consistent with their own views regarding the classroom situation and other schools where the teachers can be comfortable with the thought the principal approves of what they do. Undoubtedly there are consequences for the teachers.

Surprisingly, it is in the smallest community that the widest range of perceived differences is for Role 4. In one school the teachers think the views of the principal regarding teacher behavior in the wider community coincide with their own. The mean perceived difference is .11. But in another school, the teachers think the views of the principal differ substantially from their own, the mean perceived difference being .66. Assumedly, the teachers in the latter school have a degree of discomfort not experienced by the teachers in the first school.

Despite some variation from community to community and from one role to another, there is a broad similarity as to the ranges of perceived differences of views, sufficiently so that one is inclined to conclude that the characteristics of the total community itself have a limited effect. Again, broadly, the evidence is that there is more variation from school to school within a community than between communities.

When responses to individual role norms are examined, the variation from school to school becomes most apparent. For example, in Community A there is one school where the mean Response Score for the teachers' own views for role norm #29 (". . . discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests") is 2.71. The mean score for teachers' perceptions of the view of the principal is 4.14. The difference is 1.43. The prevailing view of the teachers is in favor of the practice, but they see the principal as disapproving. For this same role norm there is another school where the mean score for the views of the teachers is 4.05, and the score for the teachers' perceptions of the view of the principal is 4.22. The difference is only .17.

In Community B there is one school where the mean Response Score for the teachers' own views for role norm #2 (". . .make and carefully follow detailed lesson plans") is 3.54. Their score, when perceiving the view of the principal, is 2.04. The difference is 1.50. The teachers tend to disapprove, but they think the principal approves. In another school the corresponding scores are both 3.45. Here the teachers see no difference, believing that the principal shares their disapproving view.

In Community C there is a small school where all of the teachers think the principal would respond *definitely should not* to role norm #12 (". . . use physical punishment as one disciplinary measure"), but the mean score for their own views is 2.93. The difference is 2.07, or over two full response categories. Yet in another school the teachers see the principal as having a view essentially the same as their own; the two scores are 3.83 and 3.66, and the difference is only .17.

In some instances the teachers see large differences because their own views are atypical, and in some instances they see the principal as having an atypical view.

As indicated, there is no necessary connection between the amount of difference expected by teachers between their own views and the views of their principal, and the accuracy of their perceptions. The range from school to school in the amount of error in teachers' perceptions of the views of their principal, as is shown in Table 42, is appreciably greater than the range of expected differences (Table 41).

Given the variation from school to school in the amount of difference between teachers' own views and the views of the principal (Table 21) and the amount of difference perceived by the teachers, the question arises as to the extent teachers in individual schools are able to predict the views of their principal. Are teachers aware of the actual views of their principal regardless of whether such views are similar to their own?

TABLE 42
Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of Their Principal and His Actual Views, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	53	1.03	.52	1.14	.39	1.39
Role 2	.46	1.00	.32	1.19	.37	1.35
Role 3	.34	.90	.40	1.16	.38	.98
Role 4	.36	.99	.33	1.02	.21	1.54
Total Position	.51	.92	.55	1.07	.44	1.19

The range of error per role norm from school to school when teachers attempt to predict the views of their principal is wide, being from .52 to .92 in Community A, from .55 to 1.07 in Community B, and from .44 to 1.19 in Community C. These ranges are greater than for teachers' errors in predicting the views of citizens (Table 32). They also are much greater when the perceptions of *all* teachers are compared with the actual views of *all* principals. In part, this is a function of the measures employed. When all teachers are compared with either all citizens or all principals, the mean difference (error rate) will involve the comparison of *two* mean scores. But when teachers are compared with principals by schools, the comparison is between a mean score for teachers and the specific response of a particular principal, thereby partially removing the regression toward a mean. Even so, the fact remains that the teachers in some schools are much more accurate in their perceptions of the views of their principal than the teachers in other schools.

In some schools in each community the mean error per role norm approximates or exceeds one full response category. As a consequence, there are particular role norms where the error in perception is even larger. A few such examples will illustrate the extent to which a given group of teachers may be operating with a false conception of the expectations of their principal.

There is one school in Community A where the mean Response Score is 1.93 for the teachers when they report how they think their principal will respond to role norm #27 ("... insist that parents contact them at school rather than at home"). The prevailing belief of these teachers is that the principal would respond *preferably should,* which is the teachers' own view. However, the principal in this school responded *definitely should* *not* (5.0), making the error for the teachers 3.07. Such an error could become the basis of misunderstanding or even conflict between the teachers and the principal.

In Community B there is one school where the prevailing view of the teachers is that their principal would respond *may or may not* (3.18) to role norm #13 (". . . encourage pupils to discuss various religious beliefs in the classroom"); but he responded *definitely should* (1.00), yielding an error of over two response categories. In this instance there probably is no reason for conflict, but the teachers are not aware of the extent of support they would receive if they chose to conduct such discussions in the classroom.

In Community C over half of the teachers in one school think their principal would be opposed to the "use of physical punishment as one disciplinary measure" (role norm #12), and another 35 per cent think he would say *may or may not.* The mean score for these teachers' perceptions of the view of their principal is 3.51, but his actual response is *definitely should* (1.00). The error is 2.51. Most teachers think the view of the principal is the same as their own, but it is not. This particular error in perception is surprising because both school personnel and the lay public are sensitive to the question of physical punishment and the existence of formal policies.

In most instances where there is a high error in teachers' perceptions of the view of their principal, the principal is either strongly in favor or strongly opposed and has views that differ markedly from teachers' own views. When teachers' views and the views of the principal are essentially the same, the extent of error in perception tends to be low. This suggests that even when teachers are accurate it isn't because they really know the views of their principal, but instead it just means that their own views provide an "accurate" gauge of the principal's views. When there are large differences teachers have difficulty recognizing them and hence misperceive.

Principals' Perceptions of Teachers' Views

Because the over-all amount of difference between the views of teachers and the views of principals is relatively low and because the principals are in close communication with their teachers, the principals assumedly would see relatively little difference between their views and teachers' views. Data in Table 43 for communities A and C support this assumption.

The average amount of difference per role norm expected by the prin-

TABLE 43
Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Principals' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of Teachers by Roles and Total Position for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.29	.45	.26	.22	.30
Community C	.25	.37	.33	.10	.26

cipals between their own views and the views of teachers for the entire role-norm inventory is .30 for Community A and .26 for Community B, only slightly greater than when teachers perceive the views of principals (Table 37). Also, the principals in the small community expect even more differences than the principals in the large community, even though the difference is slight. These expected differences are somewhat evenly distributed over the four roles and actually over all role norms, there being only an occasional role norm where the difference between the mean Response Score for the views of all principals and for their perceptions of the views of teachers is large; and even these are not the same for both communities. Thus, there appear to be very few cases where principals as a whole might be concerned that teachers have rules of behavior different than their own.

Given the low mean difference per role norm between all teachers and all principals when each population reports its own views (Table 19) and the similarly low difference between principals' own views and their perceptions of the views of teachers (Table 43), one would anticipate a low error rate by principals when predicting the views of teachers. Such is the case as is shown in Table 44. For Community A the mean error per role norm for the entire role-norm inventory is .26 and for Community C the error is .21. Also, there is very little variation from one role to another indicating that there is no area of teacher behavior where the principals as a group have real difficulty in identifying the views of the teachers. Indeed, there is only one instance: that of the Community A principals for role norm #15, where the error rate in principals' perceptions exceeds 1.00. Broadly, then, teachers and principals appear to have a common normative world regarding appropriate behavior for teachers.

As pointed out, the comparison of mean scores for all principals with

TABLE 44

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Principals' Perceptions of Teachers' Views and for Teachers' Actual Views, by Roles and Total Position, for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.29	.30	.25	.19	.26
Community C	.25	.21	.23	.15	.21

mean scores for all teachers involves a regression toward the mean for both populations; hence it may hide any marked differences between individual principals and the teachers in his school. For this reason the analysis now turns to the perceptions of individual principals.

Principals' Perceptions of Teachers' Views by Schools

When teachers' perceptions of the views of their principal were examined school by school, a wide variation was found in the amount of difference expected by teachers between their own views and the views of their principal (Table 41) and in the amount of error by the teachers in predicting the views of their principal (Table 42). When a similar analysis is made for principals' perceptions of the views of the teachers in their respective schools, a wide variation is again found from principal to principal.

Table 45 shows the range of mean differences per role norm among

TABLE 45

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between Principals' Own Views and Their Perceptions of Their Teachers' Views, by Roles and Total Position for Two Communities

	Mean Difference			
	Community A		*Community C*	
	Lowest School	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.27	1.40	.20	1.80
Role 2	.20	1.20	.20	1.50
Role 3	.00	1.10	.10	1.40
Role 4	.20	1.50	.00	1.70
Total Position	.42	1.31	.13	1.38

principals between their own views and their perceptions of the views of the teachers in their school. In Community A there is one principal who perceives relatively little difference between his own views and the views of his teachers, the average difference per role norm being .42. Another principal in Community A, however, sees much more difference, the average being 1.31 per role norm. The corresponding figures for Community C are .13 and 1.38. It is to be pointed out here that the views held by individual principals regarding appropriate behavior for teachers, and their perceptions of the views of teachers, are both expressed in terms of whole numbers representing response categories. No mean scores are involved. Thus it is possible for a given principal to say that his own view is *definitely should,* and that he thinks most of his teachers would respond *definitely should not,* making a difference of 4.00. When one of the scores is a mean score, a difference of this extent could hardly occur. For this reason the measure of perceived differences may be inflated as compared to differences between mean scores. At the same time, it would also be easier to get zero differences when using whole numbers and thus yield a lower mean difference. These two possibilities working together are responsible for the somewhat greater range of perceived difference from principal to principal. This does not invalidate the findings but rather calls for caution in comparing the range of perceived differences with other data where mean scores are involved.

When the range of perceived differences is examined by each of the four roles, the variation from one principal to another is even greater; surprisingly perhaps, it is greatest for Role 4 in both communities. These data indicate that some principals are working in a situation where they see teachers sharing their own views while other principals see teachers holding views contradictory to their own. Whether or not this variation from school to school has consequences for the principal as he works with teachers is not known, but certainly the possibility exists.

Some principals in both Community A and Community C see the views of their teachers as diametrically opposed to their own for several role norms. In Community A, for example, there is one principal who believes that teachers *definitely should not* use physical punishment; but he thinks most of his teachers would respond *definitely should.* He believes that teachers *definitely should* encourage pupils to question their opinions but thinks that most of his teachers would respond *definitely should not.* His own view is *definitely should not* regarding teachers insisting upon extra compensation for extra duties, but he thinks the teachers would say *definitely should.* He holds that teachers *definitely should not* adhere to a stricter standard of conduct in the community because they are teachers, but his perception of the teachers' own view is *definitely should.* For a series of other role-norm statements he sees differences only slightly less extreme such as in the case of the role norm pertaining to teachers accepting the judgment of parents when there is disagreement about the needs of the child. Here the principal's own view is *preferably should,* but he predicts that the view of his teachers is *definitely should not.*

In this same community there is another school where the principal sees no difference between his own views and those of his teachers for twenty-eight of the forty-five role norms, a difference of only one response category for another fourteen items, and a difference of two response categories for only two items.

In Community C the picture is essentially the same as in Community A. There is one principal who sees his teachers as having an extreme view opposite to his own extreme view for a series of role norms, and in a number of instances they are the same items as those reported for the one principal in Community A. This is the school where the mean perceived difference by the principal between his own views and those of his teachers is 1.38. For him the views of his teachers are the same as his own for only one quarter of the role norms. In another school in Community C the principal thinks the teachers' views are the same as his own for thirty-nine of the role norms and differ by only one response category for the other six role norms.

When the analysis turns to the question of the accuracy of the perceptions of individual principals, a wide variation is again found. The ranges by roles and total position for communities A and C are shown in Table 46.

TABLE 46

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between Principal's Perception of Teachers' Views and the Mean Response Score for Teachers' Actual Views, by Roles and Total Position for Two Communities

	Mean Difference			
	Community A		*Community C*	
	Lowest School	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.48	1.35	.43	1.14
Role 2	.42	.85	.34	1.41
Role 3	.29	1.04	.17	1.04
Role 4	.27	.95	.16	1.21
Total Position	.53	1.08	.37	1.11

The range of mean error per role norm from principal to principal in their perceptions of the views of their teachers is similar to the range of error when the teachers attempt to perceive the views of their principal (Table 42), being from .53 to 1.08 in Community A and from .37 to 1.11 in Community C. There is some variation from one role to another in the extent of error of perception by principals. The greatest range of error is for Role 4 in Community C where one principal is quite accurate with an error rate of .16, but another principal is quite inaccurate with an error rate of 1.21. In Community A the widest range of error is for Role 1, being from .50 for one principal to 1.35 for another principal. In general, the range is wider among the Community C principals than the Community A principals; but this may be a function of the larger number of schools in Community C and hence a greater probability of variation.

The nature and extent of variation in principals' ability to perceive the views of their teachers can be easily illustrated. In Community A the principal who had the highest mean error rate in his perceptions of the views of his teachers for the entire role-norm inventory predicted that most of his teachers would respond *definitely should* to role norm #6 (". . . give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students"). Actually, none of his teachers responded in this manner. Nearly 60 per cent responded *definitely should not* and another 20 per cent *preferably should not.* He also thought most of his teachers would respond *definitely should* to role norm #9 (". . . permit each pupil to follow his own educational interests most of the time"), but only one teacher did so. Sixty per cent responded either *definitely* or *preferably should not* and another third responded *may or may not.* He assumed that most of his teachers would say *definitely should not* in regard to role norm # 15 ("... encourage pupils to question the opinions held by the teacher"). None did so. Eighty-two per cent said *definitely* or *preferably should.* Similarly, he claimed that the prevailing view of his teachers is *definitely should not* regarding role norm #18 ("... use last names like 'Miss Smith' or 'Mr. Jones' when addressing other teachers in front of pupils"); but 60 per cent took the position *may or may not* and the remaining 40 per cent said either *definitely* or *preferably should.* Interestingly, this principal's own views tend to be the same as those of his teachers; but he is unaware of the fact.

In general, the principal in Community C that had the most difficulty in perceiving the views of his teachers had difficulty with the same role norms as did the principal in Community A. However, other norms will be used to illustrate his errors of perception. He thinks his teachers are in favor of physical punishment (*definitely should*), but two-thirds are opposed and another third say *may or may not.* His impression is that his teachers think they *definitely should* ". . . discuss serious personal problems with the principal" (role norm #23). His teachers do not think so. Eight per cent say *definitely should,* 16 per cent say *preferably should* and all others say it is optional or that they should not. For role norm #36 ("... exercise great caution in expressing views outside of the classroom on controversial issues because of their position"), the teachers in this school are in low agreement; but a majority say they should not. The principal thinks a majority would say *definitely should.*

While these two principals represent an extreme, other principals' error rate is only slightly lower. Indeed, the error rates for the other principals are somewhat evenly distributed along the continuum from the lowest to the highest.

While not true in all instances, there is a general pattern whereby the ability of principals to perceive accurately the views of their teachers is linked to both the actual amount of difference between the views of a principal and his teachers and to the amount of difference expected by a principal. There is a tendency for a high error of perception on the part of a principal to be associated with high actual difference; this indicates a limited ability to recognize the nature and extent of differences when they do exist. A high error in perception by a principal is associated with an expectation of high actual differences, suggesting that principals also have some difficulty in recognizing those instances of high agreement when they do occur. The rank order correlations (Rho) for these comparisons cluster around .50.

Teachers' Perceptions of School Board's Views

Because of the marked difference in relative position in the total organizational structure of a school district, teachers would assumedly expect members of the school board to have views distinctly different than their own. Not only are school board members "employers" and teachers "employees," with all the differences in perspectives thus implied, but school board members are easily associated with the business and political worlds in contrast to the more humanistic and pupil-oriented world of teachers. From this point of view one would expect teachers to see more difference between their own views and those of the school board than between themselves and both citizens and principals.

The extent of difference between teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of the school board is shown in Table 47. The mean dif-

TABLE 47

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of the School Board, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.43	.36	.25	.45	.38
Community B	.42	.29	.21	.43	.33
Community C	.35	.39	.19	.45	.34

ference per role norm for the entire position is .38 for Community A, .33 for Community B, and .34 for Community C. These levels of perceived differences are lower than expected and even lower than in the case of teachers' perceptions of the views of citizens (Table 27). Interestingly, the teachers tend to see relatively little difference in regard to their acting toward parents (Role 3) and a relatively large amount of difference regarding their behavior toward pupils (Role 1) and toward the wider community (Role 4).

Reasons for the unexpectedly low perceived difference on the part of teachers are not immediately apparent. However, one possibility is that the teachers are hazy about the views of the school board; hence they tend to use their own views when asked to predict how school board members would respond. Another possibility is that teachers consciously or unconsciously assume that school board members are part of the educational fraternity; thus they share the views of other school-linked populations, including teachers.

Even though the teachers perceive little or no difference between their own views and those of the school board for many of the role norms, there are a few norms where they see a definite, if not extreme, difference. Table 48 shows some examples. What is of particular interest is that the mean Response Scores for both teachers' own views and their perceptions of the school board's views are similar from one community to another. If the teachers in one community see the school board as more (or less) approving of a given role norm, so do the teachers in the other communities.

A comparison of Table 22, which shows the actual difference per role norm between the views of teachers and the school board, with Table 48 reveals that there is more difference than teachers perceive. As a consequence, there is a relatively high error in the teachers' perceptions as

TABLE 48

Difference of Mean Response Scores Between Teachers' Own Views and Their Perceptions of School Board's Views for Selected Role Norms by Communities

	Teachers' Own Views	*Teachers' Perception School Board's Views*	*Difference*
#2 "... make and carefully follow detailed lesson plans"			
Community A	2.53	1.88	.65
Community B	2.88	2.07	.81
Community C	2.73	1.88	.85
#16 "... devote time outside of regular teaching duties to school affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional pay"			
Community A	3.39	2.39	1.00
Community B	3.41	2.50	.91
Community C	3.30	2.08	1.22
#21 "... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time"			
Community A	1.73	2.82	1.09
Community B	1.79	2.67	.88
Community C	2.30	3.53	1.23

is shown in Table 49. For the position as a whole, the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores for teachers' perceptions of the views of the school board and the actual views of the school board is .46 for Community A, .50 for Community B, and .56 for Community C. These differences are greater than for teachers' perceptions of citizens' views (Table 29). Thus, the teachers think the difference between them-

TABLE 49

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of the School Board and the Actual Views of the School Board, by Roles and Total Position, for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.50	.52	.45	.33	.46
Community B	.41	.46	.65	.52	.50
Community C	.55	.42	.80	.48	.56

selves and the citizens is greater than it actually is and that the difference between themselves and the school board is less than it actually is.

An analysis of these data by each of the four roles shows relatively little variation in the extent of error from one role to another. The major exception is for Community C teachers where the error rate in the case of Role 3 is .80. This is also the area where the Community C teachers predicted a difference of only .19 (Table 47). These teachers just do not know the views of the school board regarding teacher behavior toward parents. Indeed, for seven of the ten role norms in this role the teachers predicted in the wrong direction, as compared to their own views. That is, if the teachers think the school board is more approving (or less approving) than themselves of a given mode of behavior, the opposite turns out to be the case.

Some indication must be noted here of a relation between size and type of community and the ability of teachers to perceive accurately the views of the school board, Community A teachers being the most successful and Community C teachers least successful. While this relationship appears to hold for the over-all error rate, it is most apparent for Role 3.

Table 50 provides examples of the extent and nature of error in teach-

TABLE 50

Extent and Direction of Error by Teachers, in Terms of Mean Response Scores, in Their Perceptions of the Views of the School Board for Selected Role Norms by Communities

	Teachers' Own Views	*Teachers' Perception School Board's Views*	*S. B.'s Own Views*	*Error in Perception*
#21 "... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time"				
Community A	1.73	2.82	1.60	1.22
Community B	1.79	2.67	1.86	.81
Community C	2.30	3.53	2.25	1.28
#28 "visit every pupil's home at the beginning of the school year"				
Community A	3.12	2.94	4.00	1.06
Community B	3.72	3.46	4.00	.54
Community C	3.19	3.01	1.75	1.26
#29 "... discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests"				
Community A	3.64	3.80	2.60	1.20
Community B	2.86	3.00	1.42	1.58
Community C	3.40	3.73	2.00	1.73

ers' perceptions for selected role norms. In the case of role norm #29 ("... discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests") a majority of Community A and Community C teachers responded either *may or may not* or *preferably should not* when giving their own views and *preferably* or *definitely should not* when reporting their perceptions of the views of the school board. Thus, the teachers are more disapproving than approving and see the school board as being even more disapproving than themselves. However, in both instances the school board is more approving than disapproving. This pattern is reflected by the mean Response Scores shown. The Community B teachers are slightly approving, with a mean score of 2.86, and see the school board as being neutral (3.00) and thus less approving. In fact, the school board is definitely approving with a score of 1.42 and over 70 per cent responding *definitely should.* Thus, in all three instances the teachers predicted in the wrong direction from their own views and the resulting error is high.

When the error in teachers' perceptions of the views of the school board is examined separately for each role norm, it is found that in nearly half the cases the teachers in each community predicted in the wrong direction. While the extent of error varies widely, the teachers clearly have only a fifty-fifty chance of recognizing the nature of the differences.

Teachers' Perceptions of School Board's Views by Schools

As with both citizens and principals, there is a wide range from school to school as to the amount of difference teachers see between their own views and the views of the school board. The ranges of these perceived differences are shown in Table 51 and are very similar to the ranges

TABLE 51
Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of the School Board, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.28	.69	.28	.75	.28	.70
Role 2	.26	.85	.19	.60	.29	.99
Role 3	.14	.42	.11	.46	.11	.51
Role 4	.33	.87	.35	.66	.22	.89
Total Position	.28	.71	.29	.56	.27	.73

when teachers perceive differences between their own views and those of citizens and principals (Tables 31 and 41). Again, while there are fluctuations from one community to another, the basic pattern is essentially the same: the amount of perceived difference does not appear to have any consistent relationship to size or type of community.

There is one school in Community A where the mean difference per role norm over the entire inventory between the mean Response Scores for teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of the school board is .29, but another school where the mean difference is .69. The corresponding mean differences for the communities are .30 and .56 for Community B and .26 and .73 for Community C.

The reasons for the relatively wide range in extent of perceived differences are complex and a full explanation would involve an extended study itself. The more obvious reasons would include the degree to which the views of a given set of teachers are atypical, the degree to which their perceptions of the views of the school board are atypical, and the extent to which they are conscious of the existence of differences. Whatever the reasons, teachers who see large differences are in a different situation from those who see little difference. Inevitably, there will be consequences for the teachers themselves.

Again, it may be instructive to examine particular instances where the teachers of a given school perceive a sharp difference between their own views and those of the school board.

There is one school in Community A where the teachers tend to favor the use of physical punishment as one form of discipline (role norm #12), 50 per cent having responded *preferably should* and another 17 per cent *may or may not.* These same teachers think the school board is opposed, half of them predicting *preferably should not* and half *definitely should not.* In another school, 90 per cent of the teachers responded *preferably* or *definitely should* to role norm #21 ("... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time") when giving their own views, but over 50 per cent responded *preferably* or *definitely should not* when predicting the views of the school board. In each of these three instances the teachers see the school board as being on the opposite side of the fence. However, for each of the three role norms there are other schools where the teachers see little or no difference between their own views and those of the school board.

In Community B there are similar examples. In one school only 5 per cent of the teachers think they should "... make and carefully follow detailed lesson plans" (role norm #2), but 85 per cent think the school board would respond either *definitely* or *preferably should.* In another school 75 per cent of the teachers say they should (*definitely* or *preferably*) "... encourage pupils to question the opinions held by the teachers," while only 12 per cent think the school board would so respond.

The pattern is the same in Community C. There is one school where 90 per cent of the teachers either favor or are neutral regarding the norm ". . . encourage pupils to discuss various religious beliefs in the classroom." In contrast, 86 per cent perceive the view of the school board as being *definitely should not*, and the other 14 per cent as being *preferably should not.* In another school the prevailing view of the teachers as to whether they should ". . . devote time outside of regular teaching duties to school affairs, such as curriculum planning, without additional pay" is *preferably should not* (50 per cent responded *definitely should not*). Fifty per cent of these teachers think the view of the school board is *definitely should*, and the other 50 per cent think it is *preferably should.* The difference in the two mean response scores is 2.50.

As in the case of teachers' perceptions of the views of their principal, teachers' predictions of a large difference between their own views and the views of the school board is sometimes due to the fact the teachers' views are atypical and sometimes because they have atypical notions regarding the views of the school board. Further, there is no consistent relationship between the amount of perceived difference and the accuracy of perceptions. In some instances the teachers see a difference where there is an actual difference and in some instances they see a difference when in fact there is no difference. Similarly, in some instances the teachers see no difference when there actually is a difference, while in other instances they see no difference and there is no difference. Further, there are particular instances where the teachers are aware that the views of the school board are different than their own, but they are in serious error as to the nature or direction of the difference.

In turning from the variation from school to school in the extent to which teachers perceive a difference between their own views and the views of the school board (Table 51) to the extent to which the teachers are accurate in their perceptions of the views of the school board, it is found that the range from school to school is somewhat less (Table 52). This lower range largely results because those teachers who anticipate little difference were in error in that they failed to recognize the fact of differences. Stated otherwise, teachers from school to school are more alike in the extent of error in their perceptions than in amount of perceived difference.

In each of the three communities—noted in Tables 51 and 52—the school with the lowest mean difference per role norm for Role 3 (acting

TABLE 52

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Perceptions of School Board's Views and for the School Board's Actual Views, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.42	.60	.36	.69	.43	.86
Role 2	.40	.60	.43	.74	.32	.74
Role 3	.43	.77	.50	.93	.57	.95
Role 4	.32	.43	.37	.75	.28	.95
Total Position	.44	.59	.49	.67	.51	.75

toward parents), between teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of the school board, is .14 or less. But the corresponding lowest mean difference between teachers' perceptions of the views of the school board and the actual views of the school board is .43 or more. Also, for this same role, the highest error rates appreciably exceed the highest perceived differences.

While Table 52 shows the highest and lowest mean difference per role norm by schools between teachers' perceptions of the views of the school board and the actual views of the school board (i.e., error rate), there are particular role norms where the error in perception by the teachers of a given school is far higher than the mean error.

In Community A there is one school where over half of the teachers predict that the members of the school board will approve (*preferably* or *definitely should*) role norm #6 ("... give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students"), whereas 80 per cent of the school board disapproves (*definitely* or *preferably should not*). In another school over half of the teachers predicted a *preferably* or *definitely should not* response by the school board to role norm #21 ("... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time"); but all school board members responded either *definitely* or *preferably should.* In yet another school most teachers (over 80 per cent) think the school board is opposed to teachers discussing with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests, but it isn't.

In Community B over 50 per cent of the teachers in one of the schools think the board members would be opposed to assigning homework regularly, but 85 per cent favor the practice. In another school 80 per cent of the teachers preceived the view of the school board as being *definitely should not* regarding telling a parent the tested I.Q. of his child. However, only one board member reported such a view, while the others responded either *may or may not* or *preferably should.* In a third school over 90 per cent of the teachers assumed that the school board would respond either *definitely* or *preferably should* to the role norm having to do with patronizing locally owned businesses and services, while all board members said *may or may not.*

In Community C the extreme errors in perception are even higher. In one school over 70 per cent of the teachers are convinced that the school board disapproves (*preferably* or *definitely should not*) of teachers encouraging pupils to question their opinions, but 75 per cent of the school board approves strongly (*definitely should*). Similarly, there is another school where not a single teacher says that the school board will respond favorably, but half responded *definitely should* and another quarter *preferably should.* A final example is the school where all teachers are of the opinion that the school board is in favor of teachers exercising great caution in expressing views outside of the classroom on controversial issues because of their position. In contrast, half of the board members responded *may or may not* and the other half responded *definitely should not.*

While the above examples represent extremes of misperceptions by the teachers, there are many other schools where the extent of error for one role norm or another is only slightly less. In general, it appears that teachers tend to believe that school board members are more conservative than they actually are.

School Boards' Perceptions of the Views of Teachers

It is of some interest to compare the perceptions that school board members have of the views of teachers with the perceptions that teachers have of the school board as reported in Tables 47 and 49. Table 53 shows by roles and total position the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores of the school boards when they are reporting their own views and when they are reporting their perceptions of the views of teachers.

It is to be noted that the Community A school board doesn't see as much difference between its views and the views of the teachers (.30 per role norm) as the teachers themselves see (.38 as shown in Table 47), and the Community C school board sees more difference (.61) than do the teachers (.34). Further, the Community C school board sees twice as much difference as the Community B school board.

TABLE 53

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for School Boards' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of Teachers, by Roles and Total Position for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.20	.44	.40	.16	.30
Community C	.61	.54	.85	.46	.61

One can only speculate as to the reasons for these differences between the two school boards and whether or not the differences are linked to the size and type of community. It is to be recalled that there is little difference between the communities as to the amount of difference perceived by the teachers. It is the school boards that differ. It is possible, of course, that the difference between the two school boards is idiosyncratic and a result of the particular composition of a given school board at a given moment. In general there is no evidence that this is the case. Rather, evidence indicates that there are school-board traditions and continuity in composition that contradict the notion of purely idiosyncratic orientations. A more plausible explanation might be that in a small community there would be more of a "we" feeling, more feeling of a common point of view, be it true or not. In a large and urban community there might well be a greater awareness of heterogeneity and of differential behavior as related to different positions in a social structure. Further, in a large urban community one might expect to find a clearer distinction between employer (school board) and employees (teachers). In any event, there undoubtedly are consequences for both the teachers and the school board of the fact that one board expects teachers' views to be like its own and another school board expects teachers' views to vary from its own. These consequences will involve both attitudes toward teachers and the kinds of policy decisions that are made.

It is for Role 1 (acting toward pupils) and Role 4 (acting toward community) that there is the greatest amount of difference in the two school boards as to the amount of perceived difference. Accordingly, it is in these two areas that school board C might be less tolerant of teachers' views and even behavior than school board A.

As important as the amount of perceived differences of views on the part of the school boards is the accuracy of their perceptions as measured by the mean difference per role norm between the mean Response Scores for their perceptions of teachers' views and for teachers' own views. These mean differences are shown in Table 54.

TABLE 54
Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for School Board's Perceptions of the Views of Teachers and for Teachers' Actual Views, by Roles and Total Position for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.53	.48	.61	.42	.51
Community C	.33	.35	.71	.34	.42

For Community A the error rate in the school board's perceptions of the views of the teachers is greater than the amount of predicted difference (.51 as compared to .30). That is, there is more difference than the school board is aware. Further, the school board is less successful in predicting the views of the teachers than the teachers are in predicting the views of the school board (.46 as shown in Table 49).

For the Community C school board the opposite is the case. This school board has a lower error rate (.42 per role norm) than the Community A board. The error rate is less than the perceived difference (.61) and less than the error rate for the teachers (.56). Thus this school board, aware of the differences between its views and those of the teachers, is better able to predict the actual views of the teachers than its counterpart in Community A. Also, being more aware of differences than the teachers, the members are somewhat more successful in predicting teachers' views than the teachers are in predicting the views of the school board.

Again a question arises as to potential consequences. Can it make any difference that one school board is more accurate in its perceptions of the views of teachers than is another school board? Possibly the more accurate a school board is in its perceptions, the less it will be disturbed when teacher behavior does not conform to its own views. Rather than seeing actual behavior as deviant, it may be recognized as legitimate—given the recognized perspective of the teachers as a group. Evidence suggests that a school board in a larger and more urban setting may be more sophisticated and thus better able to recognize the facts as they are.

Finally, these findings indicate that while teachers vary little from one community to another, school boards do. In turn, the characteristics of school boards are more of a variable in educational administration than are teachers.

Teachers' Perceptions of the Superintendent's Views

Just as it was anticipated that teachers would perceive a marked difference between their own views and those of the school board, so it was anticipated that they would see the views of the superintendent as being significantly distinct from their own. As shown in Table 55, the assumption is not supported. Teachers see relatively little difference, as is indicated by the mean difference per role norm between teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of their superintendent (.35 in Community A, .24 in Community B, and .32 in Community C). These differences are approximately the same as in the case of the school board (Table 47) and less than in the case of citizens (Table 27).

TABLE 55

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of the Superintendent, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.37	.40	.18	.45	.35
Community B	.23	.24	.13	.32	.24
Community C	.34	.36	.19	.38	.32

The amount of perceived difference by the teachers is similar in communities A and C, but somewhat less by Community B teachers. In all three communities the teachers expect the least difference in regard to Role 3 and the most difference in regard to Role 4, suggesting that they are more confident of support by the superintendent regarding their behavior toward parents than toward the wider community.

Somewhat surprisingly, there are only a few role norms where the teachers in any of the communities expect a large difference between their own views and those of the superintendent. Indeed, there are only two instances (both in Community C) where the perceived difference is greater than 1.00. Both instances involve extra compensation for extra duties (roles #16 and #21) where the teachers think the superintendent would oppose extra pay in contrast to their own view that they should receive it.

It is perhaps significant that the teachers' perceptions of the views of the superintendent are essentially the same as their perceptions of the views of the school board. When a comparison is made of the mean Response Scores of teachers when reporting their perceptions of the superintendent's views with their scores when reporting their perceptions of the school board's views, the mean difference per role norm for the two sets of scores is .14 for Community A teachers, .20 for Community B teachers, and .05 for Community C teachers. Apparently the teachers are unable to distinguish between the school board and the superintendent even though the actual difference between them is .68, .70, and .79 for each of the three communities, respectively.

In brief, then, the teachers tend to see themselves, the school board, and the superintendent as having a common set of views and sharing a common perspective as far as teacher behavior is concerned.

At this point a question must be raised as to whether the teachers really believe the superintendent and the school board have views similar to their own, or whether they do not know what these views are; hence they can only use their own views when reporting their perceptions of the central administration. Perhaps both are involved. However, the important point is that, for whatever reason, the teachers are unable to distinguish between the different sets of views.

The actual amount of difference, per role norm, between teachers' own views and the superintendents' views as reported in Table 29 is approximately twice that expected by the teachers (Table 55). Because the teachers underestimate the amount of difference by 50 per cent, the amount of error is relatively high. The extent of error per role norm for each of the

TABLE 56

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of Superintendent and the Actual Views of Superintendent, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Teacher Roles				
	(1) Acting Toward Pupils	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.68	.65	.58	.69	.65
Community B	.43	.43	.97	.49	.56
Community C	.80	.82	.62	1.18	.85

populations of teachers is shown in Table 56 and is approximately twice the amount of difference anticipated by the teachers. The mean error per role norm is .65 for Community A teachers, .56 for Community B teachers, and .85 for Community C teachers.

In the case of Community A teachers, the error rate is essentially the same for each of the four roles. However, the teachers had predicted only a small difference for Role 3 (.18). In the case of Community B teachers, the error rate is similar for three of the roles but is particularly high (.97) for Role 3, the area of activity where the teachers expect the least difference (.13) but where there is the greatest difference (.90). The very high error rate is thus due in part to a general lack of awareness that there are marked differences. These teachers expect the superintendent to be much more conservative regarding teachers acting toward parents than he really is. In the case of Community C teachers, the error rate is extremely high (1.18) for Role 4. These teachers had predicted a moderate difference (.38) between their own views and the views of their superintendent, thus indicating they are unaware of the actual difference (.86). For eight of the ten norms in Role 4, Community C teachers predicted in the wrong direction in comparison to their own views. In each instance the superintendent is not only more liberal or permissive than the teachers think he is, but more so than the teachers themselves.

The nature and extent of difficulty teachers have in perceiving the views of their superintendent can be illustrated with instances where the error is particularly high.

In Community A 70 per cent of all teachers predicted that the superintendent would respond either *definitely* or *preferably should* to role norm #27 ("... insist that parents contact them at school rather than at home") and only 11 per cent predicted that he would respond in one of the two *should not* categories. His response was *preferably should not.* For this norm the error is 2.24, or well over two full response categories. The teachers guessed that the view of the superintendent was much like their own, but it is diametrically opposed. Most teachers, when they attempt to discourage parents from calling their home, are wrong to think the superintendent would be supportive. In Community B, 40 per cent of the teachers claimed that their superintendent would respond either *preferably* or *definitely should not* to role norm #29 ("... discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests"); and another 32 per cent thought he would say *may* or *may not.* The view of the superintendent is *definitely should,* a view that only 28 per cent of the teachers could perceive. In this instance it may be that the teachers really had no idea what the view of the superintendent was so they attributed to him what was actually their own position. In Community C over 8 per cent of the teachers hold that the superintendent would respond either *definitely* or *preferably should* to role norm #2 ("... make and carefully follow detailed lesson plans"), even though their own views were somewhat scattered. His actual response was *preferably should not,* making an error of over two full response categories. This is an example of the superintendent being much more liberal or permissive than the teachers are aware.

Even though the response of the superintendent is not a mean score, but rather a whole number and thus may somewhat inflate differences, as noted above, the over-all evidence is that teachers do underestimate the amount of difference between their own views and those of the superintendent to a significant degree and that as a result there is a comparatively large error in their perceptions that is maximized by the fact they often look in the wrong direction when trying to decide what the superintendent thinks.

Teachers' Perceptions of the Superintendent's Views by Schools

Turning from teachers as a whole in each community to teachers by schools, some variation is found in the extent to which they think the views of the superintendent correspond to their own. The range of mean differences, among schools for each of the communities, between the mean Response Scores for teachers' own views and their perceptions of the views of their superintendent is shown in Table 57. In each of the communities there is at least one school where the teachers see little differ-

TABLE 57

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between the Mean Response Scores for Teachers' Own Views and for Their Perceptions of the Views of the Superintendent, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
Roles	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.33	.60	.18	.56	.26	.56
Role 2	.21	.90	.18	.55	.29	.91
Role 3	.15	.49	.10	.39	.12	.46
Role 4	.31	.90	.19	.53	.22	.65
Total Position	.28	.63	.20	.44	.27	.61

ence between their own views and those of their superintendent, the mean difference per role norm between the two sets of teacher responses being .28 or less. Again, in each of the communities at least one school has a mean difference of .44 or more. The lowest and highest mean differences are virtually identical in communities A and C and somewhat lower in Community B.

For each role norm there are some schools where the teachers see virtually no difference and other schools where distinct differences are seen. Examples of the latter show the extent of variation at the level of individual role norms. In Community A there is one school where all teachers are convinced that the superintendent would respond *definitely should not* to role norm #12 (". . . use physical punishment as one disciplinary measure"). Their own view, however, is much more favorable, half saying they *preferably should*, 17 per cent saying *may or may not*, and the remaining third saying *preferably should not*. In terms of mean Response Scores, the perceived difference of views is over two full response categories. At the same time in another school the prevailing view of the teachers is *preferably should not* for both their own views and their perceptions of the views of the superintendent, and the difference between the two mean Response Scores is only .13. In Community B there is one school where only 15 per cent of the teachers responded either *definitely* or *preferably should* to role norm #36 (". . . exercise great caution in expressing views outside of the classroom on controversial issues because of their position"), but 65 per cent believe the superintendent is similarly favorable. The difference between the two mean scores is 1.45. Yet in another school in this community there is no perceived difference, the mean Response Score being 3.27 for both teachers' own views and their perceptions of the view of the superintendent. In Community C there is one school where only 25 per cent of the teachers think they should not "... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time," but 75 per cent think the superintendent's view is either *preferably* or *definitely should not*. The difference between the two mean scores is 1.75. But in another school the difference in the two mean scores is only .21.

As suggested in the discussion of teachers' perceptions of the school board, any problems arising out of the way teachers perceive the views of the superintendent may not be so much a district-wide problem as a problem specifically related to individual schools. Thus problems of school organization or administration may tend to be school specific, the actual operating unit of a school district, rather than a problem of the district as a whole.

Just as there is variation from school to school in the amount of difference teachers think there is between their own views and the views of the superintendent, so there is variation in the extent to which teachers' perceptions of the superintendent are accurate. Table 58 shows the range of mean differences, among schools for each community, between the mean Response Scores for teachers' perceptions of the views of the superintendent and the actual views of the superintendent.

TABLE 58

Lowest and Highest Mean Difference Per Role Norm, Among Schools, Between the Mean Response Score for Teachers' Perceptions of the Views of the Superintendent and His Actual Views, by Roles and Total Position for Three Communities

	Mean Difference					
	Community A		*Community B*		*Community C*	
	Lowest School	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*	*Lowest School*	*Highest School*
Role 1	.59	.81	.40	.65	.66	1.10
Role 2	.53	.85	.39	.60	.70	1.02
Role 3	.45	.68	.83	1.11	.52	.98
Role 4	.53	.90	.44	.66	.92	1.46
Total Position	.58	.77	.55	.71	.78	1.07

This table indicates two things. First, the range from the school where the teachers have the lowest error rate to the school where the teachers have the highest error rate is less than the range for the perceived differences as reported in Table 57. This means that error in perception is more evenly distributed among the schools. Secondly, the level of error is consistently higher than the perceived differences. Also, the school in Community C with the lowest error rate has a higher error rate than the schools with the highest error rate in communities A and B.

Table 58 also shows that the range of mean error per role norm for the total position of teacher is appreciably less than the range for each of the four roles. This results because for a given school the error tends to be high for one role and low for another, yielding a moderate over-all level of error.

When one examines teachers' misperceptions of the views of their superintendent by individual schools and for individual role norms, there are a relatively large number of instances where the misperceptions are surprisingly high. Several examples reveal the extent to which the teachers in a given school may be unaware of the expectation that the superintendent may have for teachers.

In Community A there is one school where 29 per cent of the teachers think the superintendent would respond *preferably should not* to role norm #9 ("... permit each pupil to follow his own educational interests most of the time") and another 57 per cent think his view is *definitely should not,* making a total of 86 per cent who think he is opposed. His actual view is *preferably should.* In another school all the teachers see the superintendent as saying *definitely should* for role norm #18 ("... use last names like 'Miss Smith' or 'Mr. Jones' when addressing other teachers in front of pupils"), but his response is *may or may not.*

In Community B, 82 per cent of the teachers in one school say the view of the superintendent is either *preferably* or *definitely should not* regarding role norm #29 ("... discuss with parents the child's scores on standardized achievement tests"), but his reply is *definitely should.* In another school 91 per cent of the teachers predict that the view of the superintendent is either *definitely* or *preferably should* for role norm #33 ("... contact parents whenever any problem arises for their children"), but his view is *preferably should not.*

In Community C there is a school where every teacher says the position of the superintendent is *definitely should* as regards role norm #2 ("... make and carefully follow detailed lesson plans"), whereas he says his position is *preferably should not.* In another school, 57 per cent of the teachers say that the superintendent thinks teachers *definitely should* "... exercise great caution in expressing views outside of the classroom on controversial issues because of their position" (role norm #36); and another 29 per cent judge that the superintendent thinks teachers *preferably should.* Yet, the response of the superintendent is *definitely should not.*

Many other comparable instances exist where the error is at least two full response categories and sometimes three. It is not a matter of degree of approval or disapproval but rather of opposing views as between should or should not. Also, in each instance of a high error in perception by the teachers in a given school or schools, there are other schools where the error rate is low.

Again, these data suggest that the variations from school to school within a school district are more striking and perhaps more significant than the over-all variations from one school district to another, and that problems arising out of teachers' perceptions of the normative views of others are school specific rather than district wide.

Superintendents' Perceptions of Teachers' Views

Having examined teachers' perceptions of the views of their superintendent, it is of interest to turn to the perceptions that the superintendents in communities A and C have of the views of the elementary school teachers in their respective school systems. Do the superintendents see more difference or less difference between their own views and the views of teachers than do the teachers? Are they more accurate or less accurate than the teachers in their perceptions? The answers are somewhat puzzling but nonetheless suggestive.

Table 59 shows the mean difference per role norm, by roles and by total position, between the superintendents' own views and their perceptions of the views of their teachers. The difference between the two superintendents is marked. The mean perceived difference of views by the Community A superintendent is .36 while that of the Community C superintendent is 1.02, or nearly three times that of the Community A superintendent. Although Table 25 shows that the actual amount of difference between teachers and superintendent is .60 for Community A and .75 for Community C, such would not appear to account for the great variation in the amount of perceived difference. Table 55 shows that there is no difference between the two communities as to the amount of difference of views perceived by the teachers themselves, thereby suggesting there is no common or shared idea in Community C that the views of the superintendent and teachers tend to differ. Finally, both superintendents have been in the school system for many years and assumedly have had equal opportunity to become familiar with the views of teachers. Why, then, does the Community C superintendent perceive so much more than the Community A superintendent? One explanation is that the way a given superintendent perceives the views of his teachers is idiosyncratic and a consequence of a unique set of perspectives. However, this really is

TABLE 59
Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between Superintendent's Own Views and His Perception of the Views of Teachers, by Roles and Total Position for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.47	.40	.30	.20	.36
Community C	.93	1.00	.80	1.40	1.02

not an explanation for the nature of the idiosyncrasy would still need to be explained. An alternative explanation might be that the superintendent in a large urban system is more aware of role differentiation; he is hence more likely to see differences, while a superintendent in a small community may have a greater tendency to see similarity between individuals.

The extent to which the Community C superintendent sees more difference between his own views and those of the teachers can be illustrated by reference to individual role norms. In the case of role norm #6 ("... give greater attention to the more capable than to the less capable students"), #21 ("... insist upon extra compensation for duties, like coaching a team, that require extra time"), #35 ("... exercise great caution in expressing views outside of the classroom on controversial issues because of their position"), and #37 ("... live within the school district"), the response of the Community C superintendent is *definitely should not;* but he thinks most teachers would respond *preferably should,* a difference of three response categories. For each of these items the Community A superintendent predicts that the views of the teachers are the same as his own. There are only thirteen items where the Community C superintendent sees no difference between his views and those of the teachers, but for the Community A superintendent there are thirty-one such items.

It is interesting to speculate regarding the consequences of a superintendent seeing little or a great deal of difference between his own normative views and the views of the teachers in the system. Such consequences might include supportive attitudes toward teachers, confidence in teachers, policies designed to control teacher behavior, and the extent to which teachers are given autonomy as regards classroom innovations.

When it comes to the accuracy of the two superintendents in perceiving the views of their teachers, Table 60 shows virtually no difference.

TABLE 60

Mean Difference Per Role Norm Between Superintendent's Perceptions of Teachers' Views and the Mean Response Score for Teachers' Actual Views, by Roles and Total Position for Two Communities

	Teacher Roles				
Communities	*(1) Acting Toward Pupils*	*(2) Acting Toward Colleagues*	*(3) Acting Toward Parents*	*(4) Acting Toward Community*	*Total Position*
Community A	.51	.67	.44	.48	.52
Community C	.72	.51	.36	.67	.58

The mean error rate per role norm for the total position of teacher is .52 for the Community A superintendent and .58 for the Community C superintendent. These error rates are higher than those of the citizens, principals, and school boards when perceiving the views of teachers and higher than those for teachers when perceiving the views of citizens, principals, and the school board. The only higher error rate is that of the teachers when perceiving the views of the superintendent. Thus, of all the populations involved, it is the teachers and their superintendent who have the most difficulty in perceiving each other's views.

The error rate on the part of the Community A superintendent is a consequence of his underestimating the amount of difference between his own views and those of the teachers, while that of the Community C superintendent is a consequence of overestimating the difference.

VI

Summary of Findings and Some Implications

This study has sought to identify some of the characteristics of the normative structure as it pertains to the position of elementary school teacher. More specifically, it has focused on the degree of consensus that exists both within and between selected relevant populations as measured by extent of agreement within populations of position holders and by extent of agreement between populations, both as regards views held regarding approprate behavior for teachers and as regards the ability of one population to perceive the views of another population.

To determine whether the characteristics of the normative structure tend to be linked to specific communities and thus function as characteristics of communities themselves or transcend community boundaries and thus represent features of the wider culture, comparisons have been made of data from three markedly different communities. The extent to which characteristics of the normative structure are community specific or culturally defined is important. It determines, in part, where one must look for an explanation of the characteristics themselves and the extent to which appropriate administrative policies can be generalized beyond individual school districts.

It is the purpose of this chapter to summarize some of the basic findings to suggest some possible implications.

Level of Agreement Within Populations

Findings

Role norm by role norm and for each population of subjects in each of the three communities, there is a wide range of levels of agreement. For a given population there are some norms where there is virtually no agreement and other norms where there is almost complete agreement. Further, the remaining norms tend to be distributed monotonically along the continuum from low to high agreement. This is true for all populations in each of the three communities even though the highest levels of agreement among citizens are lower than among the other populations. Thus, the normative structure is not characterized by a uniformly high level of agreement among the members of a given population, as is sometimes assumed, but rather by degrees of consensus.

Because the levels of agreement for individual role norms tend to be distributed uniformly along the continuum from near zero to near 100 per cent, the average levels of agreement over the entire role-norm inventory cluster around 50 per cent. With the exception of the citizens, where the clustering is around 40 per cent, this pattern holds for all populations in each of the three communities whether they are reporting their own views or their perceptions of the views of others.

Some Implications

If levels of agreement within populations are similar from community to community, and the data give some support to this conclusion, it follows that the extent of agreement is not a consequence of the size and type of community but rather is a function of the characteristics of the broader culture. If this is true, then there are limits to the extent the level of agreement among the members of a given population in a given community can be manipulated by local action. The factors responsible for level of agreement appear to transcend communities and thus may be beyond significant local control.

Often it is assumed that a high level of agreement among the members of a given population of functionaries is necessary for harmonious and effective working relations, i.e., for social order. There is no evidence of serious discord in any of the three subject communities. In each instance there is every indication of normal working relationships even though the levels of agreement approximate only 50 per cent. Further, if levels of agreement tend to be constant from community to community, they could not then be used as a variable to account for differences in amount of stress from one school district to another. From this it follows that school administrators need not be highly concerned about differences of views among teachers and others in the school district. Explanations of problems of stress in working relationships will involve other variables.

It is assumed also with some frequency that a common educational background, professionalization, common working situations, and interaction over a period of time lead to high agreement. While this undoubtedly is true to some degree, the moderate amount of agreement among teachers suggests that much more is involved. Indeed, it may even be that the very factors so often associated with consensus formation may also generate differences of views. In any event, the traditional ideas concerning consensus formation may have to be re-examined.

Stereotyping, in the sense of assuming that all members of a given population have certain characteristics in common, is an understandable phenomenon. The data of this study may point to the kind of difficulties that can result from stereotyping. Because the members of each of the subject populations are far from being alike in most of their views regarding appropriate behavior for teachers, it is risky, for example, to say that citizens think teachers should act in a particular way. Only in an occasional instance does a large majority of citizens have the same view. The same is true for each of the other populations. Policy decisions by school administrators based on an assumption of consensus usually will not be sound. Indeed, an awareness and recognition of limited agreement among the members of school-linked populations can well be a sounder basis of policy decisions.

Extent of Agreement of Populations Between Communities

Findings

Somewhat surprisingly, there is virtually no difference role norm by role norm between the responses of the citizens in the three communities regarding their views of appropriate behavior for teachers (and as regards their perceptions of teachers' views for communities A and C). Thus, not only are the three populations of citizens alike in the amount of agreement among themselves, they are alike in the actual content of their views.

Similarly, there is no significant difference between the three populations of teachers regarding their own views and their perceptions of the views of others. There is no significant difference in the content of the responses of teachers, role norm by role norm, from one community to another.

While the measured amount of difference between the responses of the principals from one community to another is somewhat greater than in the case of the citizens and the teachers, it too is not significant. As with the citizens and teachers, the three populations of principals can be regarded as samples drawn from a single universe.

The absolute difference in the responses of the school boards, role norm by role norm, from one community to another when reporting their own views as to appropriate behavior for teachers is appreciably larger than in the case of citizens, teachers, and principals. Even so, the differences are not statistically significant; it must be concluded that the three populations of school board members represent samples drawn from a single universe.

When the responses of the three superintendents are compared, the result is different. Not only are the differences greater than for the other populations, but in two of the comparisons the differences are statistically significant. In contrast to the responses of the other populations, the views of the superintendents regarding appropriate behavior for teachers appear to be idiosyncratic to a degree.

Some Implications

A major implication of the findings is that the normative views regarding the position of teacher actually held by each of the populations are independent of the characteristics of the wider community in the same way as are levels of agreement. Rather than reflect the unique characteristics of communities, the views of each of the populations appear to reflect the characteristics of the wider culture, particularly in the case of citizens.

In the past, school administrators and others have often emphasized the differences between communities and pointed to these differences as the reason for differences in their experience, including their ability to work effectively. While it cannot be assumed that there are no differences between communities and that these differences do not have consequences for the school administrator, the data of this study would suggest that the differences may have been over emphasized. If citizens, teachers, principals, and even school boards tend to have similar expectations for teachers from one community to another, even when these communities are markedly different in a number of ways, there is a limit to which administrative problems involving the instructional function can be linked to the characteristics of communities.

If the evidence does not support a relationship between the characteristics of the normative structure and tensions or conflicts that arise within school systems or between the schools and the wider community, other explanations must be sought. An alternative view is that stress and conflict regarding the educational enterprise can arise in any community and that what makes the difference is not the characteristics of the normative structure itself but a variety of triggering events such as the activity of special interest groups or policy decisions made by school administrators. Perhaps it is not the nature of the community as such but the acts of individuals and groups that lead eventually to serious difficulties for the schools.

Another implication of the findings is that the views of each of the relevant populations are not so easily manipulated as one might think. If normative views were found to be community specific, i.e., local, it might be possible to modify them through public relations and informational programs. But if peoples' ideas as to what teachers should and should not do are part of a broad cultural perspective that transcends communities, local efforts might have little effect. Perhaps this is the reason so many efforts by school administrators to change the attitudes of the electorate have not been more successful.

Agreement Between Populations Within Communities

Findings

When the total population of teachers within a community is broken down by individual schools, a wide variation is found in the way teachers view their own position. The variation is similar for each of the three communities.

There is a moderate difference between the way teachers as a total population and citizens as a total population view the position of teacher, and the over-all differences are the same for all three communities. When the views of the teachers in each school are compared to the views of the total population of citizens, the range of over-all difference from school to school is moderate and the same for all three communities.

There is a small amount of difference between the way teachers as a total population and principals as a total population view the position of teacher. Again, the differences are identical for all three communities. When the views of the teachers in each school are compared to the views of their respective principal, the range of over-all difference is large and similar for all three communities.

The amount of difference between the views of all teachers as a population and the views of the school board is slightly greater than between teachers and citizens but still moderate and less than might have been expected. It is also essentially the same for all three communities. School by school the amount of difference between the views of the teachers and the school board varies only moderately and to a similar extent in all three communities.

The amount of difference between the views of all teachers as a population and the views of the superintendent is relatively large and greater than in the case of the teachers versus the school board. This is true for all three communities. School by school the difference varies appreciably but is less than for teachers versus their principal. The range of differences of views is comparable for all three communities.

Some Implications

Teachers are not randomly distributed among the schools as far as the way they view their position is concerned. Somehow, over time, the teachers in some schools have come to hold views that distinguish them from teachers in other schools. This means that the schools in a district are not homogeneous as far as the perspectives of the teachers are concerned. This means that school administrators and citizens alike are confronted with diverse populations of teachers. It also means that a given administrative policy will have differential consequences from school to school and that citizens, especially parents, will have differential experiences as they move from one set of teachers to another. Stated another way, stress and strain between teachers and administrators resulting from differing views as to how teachers should act in given circumstances may be associated with particular schools rather than being district wide. To the extent this is the case, administrative efforts to deal with at least certain types of problems may be more productive if carried out at the level of individual schools rather than the system as a whole.

The fact that there is relatively little difference from one community to another in the amount of difference between populations and in the range of differences from school to school again suggests that the source of difficulties confronting school administrators is not closely linked to differences between the communities themselves. They are either indigenous to all communities or stem from the actions of school administrators or from the activities of particular individuals or groups within the lay population.

Teachers' views regarding their postion are more like those of citizens than the superintendent, suggesting that many of the norms accepted by the teachers are folk norms in contrast to professional norms.

Perceptions and Misperceptions

Findings

The teachers as a whole in each of the three communities expect a relatively large difference between their own views and the views of the citizens. In so doing they overestimate the amount of actual difference, and the extent of error in their perceptions is thereby moderately high.

There is a wide range from one school to another in each of the three communities both in the amount of difference teachers see between their own views and the views of citizens and in the extent of error in their perceptions of citizens' views.

In contrast, the citizens expect a relatively small amount of difference between their own views and the views of teachers; thus they underestimate the amount of actual difference and thereby have a relatively high error rate.

When the teachers in each community attempt to predict the views of their principals, they see relatively little difference from their own views. Because there is little actual difference, their perceptions are relatively accurate despite a tendency to see more differences than actually exist.

When teachers' perceptions of the views of their principal are examined by individual schools, there is a marked variation in both the extent of expected differences and accuracy of perceptions.

As a group, the principals expect more difference between their own views and those of teachers than the teachers themselves expect and their perceptions are quite accurate.

By individual principals, there is a wide range in both the amount of expected difference and the extent of misperception of the views of the teachers in their school.

In the case of both the school board and the superintendent, the teachers in each of the communities see only a moderate amount of difference of views from their own. Because the actual differences are relatively large, they underestimate the amount of difference to a relatively large extent.

By individual schools in each community there is a wide range in the amount of difference teachers think there is between their own views and the views of both the school board and the superintendent. The range of error in teachers' perceptions is relatively narrow in the case of the school board, but somewhat wider in the case of the superintendent.

Data from two communities show that the school boards and the superintendents differ markedly in the extent to which they see differences between their own views and the views of teachers. One school board and one superintendent underestimate and the others overestimate the amount of difference.

The extent to which the school boards and the superintendents misperceive the views of teachers is moderately high and greater than that of the citizens and principals.

Some Implications

Because teachers and citizens are more alike in their views as to how teachers should act than the former realize, it assumedly follows that many teachers are unaware of the amount of understanding and support provided by the lay public. If, as it appears, teachers are sensitive to the views of the public and have some tendency to adjust their behavior to avoid criticism or pressure, any misperceptions by teachers of the expectations of the public may lead to adjustments to something that does not exist. In an extreme case, teachers may refrain from doing something because they believe citizens are opposed, when in fact the citizens would approve. This could easily happen in such a critical area as innovations in instructional practices.

The variation from one school to another in the extent to which teachers are unaware of the actual views of citizens suggests that any problems arising out of misperceptions will tend to be concentrated in particular schools. Therefore, efforts to deal with teacher-citizen misunderstandings or conflict may require activity at the level of individual schools as opposed to the school district as a whole.

In contrast to the teachers, the citizens underestimate differences of views between the two populations. A number of consequences may result. Because citizens, and especially parents, typically have contact with individual teachers, the behavior of any particular teacher that does not correspond to the expectations held by citizens may be seen as deviant and hence properly subject to criticism. If the lay public were fully aware that teachers as a whole have different views, then such views have a degree of legitimacy and individual teachers would be less subject to attack. Indeed, misperceptions can be more disruptive than recognized differences. Also implied here is the possibility that citizens as a whole cannot make a distinction between the folk culture and professionalization.

Due to the marked variation from school to school in the extent to which teachers are aware of the views of their principal, and the extent to which the principal is aware of the views of his teachers, stress relations between the two resulting from misunderstandings over appropriate teacher behavior may well be school specific. Again, administrative efforts to resolve problems of teacher-principal relationships might better be directed to individual schools than to the school system as a whole.

Variation from school to school in the working relationships between teachers and their principals is not a new idea. The data in this study, however, do suggest a possible explanation for such variation. In particular, the data imply that it may not be so much personality factors as normative ambiguity. The implications in terms of appropriate administrative measures are far reaching.

Because teachers in general think differences between their views and the views of both the school board and the superintendent are less than is actually the case, they may think they are conforming to the expectations of the central administration when in fact they are not. Being unaware of those areas where there are marked differences of views, they will be insensitive and hence unresponsive to the expectations of administrators. They may believe there is more support for their judgments of appropriate behavior than is true. Further, teachers may well be unaware of the existence of displeasure with their actions on the part of the school board and the superintendent; thus they may be puzzled by any evidence of lack of support. Here again, misperceptions may be more disruptive than differences of views fully known to all parties.

The ability or inability of the teachers to perceive accurately the views of the school board and the superintendent is not uniform from one school to another. Thus again, stresses resulting from misperceptions may well be characteristic of particular schools rather than system wide. In turn, trouble shooting should be directed to some schools more than others.

In the case of teachers' perceptions of the views of the central administration and their perceptions of the views of each of the other populations, there is very little difference from one community to another. The perceptions that Community A teachers have of the views of their superintendent are very similar to those that the Community C teachers have of the views of their superintendent. The same is true when comparisons are made between communities A and B and communities B and C. This is true despite a large difference of views among superintendents. Thus the data reveal only a minor difference from one community to another despite their difference in size and type. And again, those problems in school administration that arise out of the state of the normative structure itself do not appear to be linked to the broad characteristics of the community itself but to the characteristics of the broader culture.

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